



The Antiquary.



DECEMBER, 1884.

Celebrated Birthplaces:

SAMUEL JOHNSON AT LICHFIELD.

By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was born at Lichfield, on the 7th of September, 1709 (old style), or the 18th of our present reckoning, and died in Bolt Court, Fleet Street, on the 13th of Dec., 1784. Although he was one of the most thorough Londoners that ever lived, he kept up through life a lively interest in the place of his birth. On one occasion he affirmed that the inhabitants of Lichfield were "the most sober, decent people in England, and genteelst in proportion to their locality, and spoke the purest English;" and at another time he jocularly said that he must send Boswell to Lichfield, to learn manners and morals. It is, therefore, to be regretted that the proposal made by the present mayor of that city for the celebration of Johnson's centenary, should not have received a suitable response. No great English writer is more widely known than Johnson, and no English worthy more thoroughly deserves such honour as the commemoration of a centenary may confer, and one cannot but regret that this December 1884 will pass without some public recognition of our indebtedness to so great a man. Still, although the year may pass, the public honour that should have been done in 1884 may still be done in 1885, and, as a suggestion, I would propose that a statue be placed in Northumberland Avenue, near the Grand Hotel, for our hero said "the full tide of human existence is at Charing Cross," and he thus gave the palm to that place over his beloved Fleet Street.

VOL. X.

Michael Johnson, the father of Samuel, was himself a man of some mark, and apparently a fairly prosperous one, until misfortunes came upon him late in life. He was a bookseller, who knew something more than the outsides of his books, and besides his home at Lichfield he had shops at Birmingham, Uttoxeter, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch. In a letter written by the Rev. George Plaxton, in 1716, "the Lichfield librarian" is said to propagate learning all over the diocese, and to have all the clergy as his pupils.* He did not marry until 1706, when he was past fifty years of age. His wife was Sarah Ford, whose nephew was the notorious Parson Ford, one of the figures in Hogarth's "Modern Midnight Conversation." Michael Johnson was at one time made sheriff, and on this occasion his son says that "he feasted the citizens with uncommon magnificence." He subsequently embarked in some unfortunate speculations, and was cheated by an assistant, so that when he died in 1731 he left nothing but the house where his son was born. This still stands, and is of special interest as one of the few existing houses that are associated with Johnson. The house which was built by Michael Johnson is situated in the Market Place, and has two fronts, as shown in the accompanying figure. In the year 1767, when the original lease was out, the Corporation of Lichfield ordered "that a lease should be granted to Samuel Johnson, Doctor of Laws, of the encroachments at his house, for the term of ninety-nine years, at the old rent of five shillings;" and they further desired him to accept it without paying any fine.

The city of Lichfield has many claims upon our interest, but in spite of its beautiful cathedral, its greatest claim to the world's regard will be found in the fact that it gave birth to one of the noblest of Englishmen. We know but little of Johnson's early life, save that he was well received in the society which a cathedral city such as Lichfield could afford. Boswell appears to have been wrong in supposing that Johnson stayed three years at Pembroke College, Oxford, and there can now be little doubt that after fourteen months' residence he was forced by poverty to return

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1791, quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald in his edition of Boswell, i. 9.

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to Lichfield.* In 1733 he wrote for a bookseller at Birmingham; in 1734 he issued proposals for the publication of an edition of the Latin poems of Politian, which was never issued; and in 1735 appeared his translation of Lobo's *Abyssinia*; but he produced no literary work of any importance until after his removal to London in 1737. Before this latter date he had suffered many disappointments. He had been unsuccessful in several attempts to become an usher, and in one case he was refused the post on the ground that the boys would ridicule his peculiarities. At the school of Market Bosworth, where he was employed, he stayed but a short time, and throughout his life he looked back upon this experience with the greatest horror. In 1735 he married the widow Porter, and with the eight hundred pounds she brought him he started a school at Edial, near Lichfield, in a two-storied, high-roofed house, with windows in the roof, which was pulled down in 1809. The number of pupils was small, not exceeding eight;

two of these were the brothers Garrick, and another is said to have been a boy who, when a man, became famous as Dr. Hawkesworth. This venture, therefore, was a failure, and in 1737, at the age of twenty-eight, Johnson resolved to try his fortunes in London. He brought with him a letter from his friend Gilbert Walmsley, to Colson the mathema-

* Mr. Croker first pointed this out, and Dr. Birkbeck Hill, in his interesting work *Dr. Johnson, his Friends and his Critics*, 1878, has practically settled it.

tician, and a part of the tragedy of *Irene*, and was accompanied by David Garrick, who was to be placed at Colson's school. Mrs. Johnson was left at Lichfield while her husband sought a new home. He shortly afterwards returned to fetch his wife, in order to settle in London and begin that arduous career of authorship which supported him so ill and caused him so much uneasiness, but was powerless to break the noble spirit that

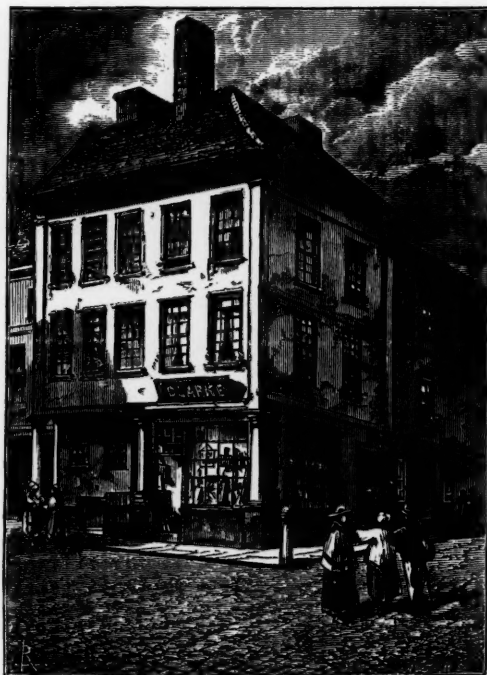
dwelt in that strong but uncouth frame.

Although Johnson expressed the opinion that any man who wrote without pay was a fool, he was contented with very little, and one cannot but marvel at the small sums he received for his work, even after he had obtained a pre-eminent position in the literary world. At no time could he have lived with any comfort on the proceeds of his writings, and without his pension he would have been, throughout his life, miserably poor. For his masterpiece, which he himself described as "little lives and little prefaces to a little edition of the Eng-

lish poets," he only asked the publishers two hundred guineas.

It will not be necessary to mention again his association with Lichfield; suffice it to say that when broken down in health and within a measurable distance of the grave, he visited his birthplace, in hopes of obtaining from his native air that benefit which no other brought him.

The associations of Johnson with streets, both in the City of London and in the West



DR. JOHNSON'S BIRTHPLACE.

End, are numerous, but they are all recorded in Boswell's immortal pages, so that it would be out of place to repeat the record here. I shall venture to set down a few notes on his works, which certain popular writers tell us are not much read now, instead of repeating the incidents of his life, which ought to be familiar to every one who can read them as related by England's greatest biographer. If Johnson's works are not now read, so much the worse for those who seek instruction and amusement in literature; but if they are read as they ought to be, I may still hope to use the occasion of the centenary as an excuse for drawing my readers' attention to a few of the chief points in his literary character.*

There are two characteristics of Johnson's writing that go to make him less popular than he deserves to be. One is that he was nothing if not a moralist, and the present age hates to be preached at; and the other, that his style is too artificial,—ponderous some call it. This last objection is certainly made too much of, for it will be found that whenever Johnson had anything to explain he always used the clearest and most idiomatic language. It is in the earlier works, and in such essays about generalities as those of the *Rambler*, that he compares so unfavourably with Addison. He himself acknowledged that he used too many long words, and in his later works he used them less and less. One good test of the beauty of his diction is that, whenever he wrote upon a subject, however difficult, which required to be clearly set before the reader, it will be found impossible to improve upon his style.

Many collections of Johnson's works have been published, the last being issued in 1825, at Oxford, and most of them are in as many as twelve volumes, and yet, with the exception of the little tale *Rasselas*, and the record of his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*,

there is in them no complete work, planned and written as a whole. All his works were either written for ephemeral publications, or issued as parts of other books. Even his masterpiece, the *Lives of the Poets*, only grew in the end into a distinct book, which will live when the works of a large number of the poets it records are only remembered by his criticisms. One cannot but regret when one reads that remarkable list of Johnson's proposed works, which Boswell printed, that some at least of the proposals were not carried out. For instance, what a charming and instructive book would this have been, and how the author could have poured out his stores of learning in it:

History of the reviva of learning in Europe, containing an account of whatever contributed to the restoration of literature, such as controversies, printing, the destruction of the Greek empire, the encouragement of great men, with the lives of the most eminent patrons and most eminent early professors of all kinds of learning in different countries.

I now propose to consider Johnson as a poet, an essayist, a critic and biographer, a bibliographer, and a pamphleteer.*

1. *As a Poet.*—Here again Johnson is unfortunate, for the present age, although to a large extent eclectic in its tastes, is reluctant to give the high title of poet except to those whose verse displays evidence of the higher imagination. Johnson was of the school of Pope, and it is curious to find how often his best lines are attributed to the greater poet, even by those who should know better. *London* (1738), although a very fine poem, contains some false notes, as when we find the lover of our great city setting the rocks of Scotland before the charms of the Strand. In this poem we find the oft-quoted lines:—

Of all the griefs that harass the distress'd,
Sure the most bitter is a scornful jest.

And again:—

This mournful truth is everywhere confessed,
Slow rises worth by poverty depress'd.

The Vanity of Human Wishes is the far finer work of the two, and we surely cannot deny the title of poetry, and poetry of a

* I do not here consider him as a lexicographer, because I shall attempt to tell the story of the Dictionary in the next number of THE ANTIQUARY.

* There can be no doubt that Johnson is more popularly known as seen in Boswell's *Life*, than as he showed himself in his own writings; that, in fact, he was a greater conversationalist than he was an author; still it strikes one as strange that Mr. Leslie Stephen should devote so small a space to the written words of his hero in his pleasant *Life of Johnson*. A leader writer in *The Times* infers that the readers of Boswell are decreasing, but this, we trust, is not a true inference.

high order too, to that which deeply moved Sir Walter Scott, and has been a delight to many other great men. When in comfort and independence Johnson took up his own satire and opened it at the lines which paint the scholar's fate and the almost insurmountable obstructions in his way to fortune—he burst into a paroxysm of tears. What a hold the poem has taken upon the popular mind is seen by the numerous familiar quotations that are taken from it. Of the play *Irene* little can be said; even such lenient critics as Mrs. Thrale and Miss Burney found it impossible to be enthusiastic over the tragic fate of the fair Greek. We have seen what Johnson thought of his own satire; he shall be the critic of his own play. On one occasion when it was being read by his friends he left the room, and afterwards said that he thought it had been better. That the hand had not lost its cunning late in life is seen in the beautiful lines *On the Death of Mr. Robert Levett, a Practiser in Physic*, who only died two years before his benefactor.

It was a subject of regret to many of his friends that he wrote so little poetry, but once when Topham Beauclerk was expressing this feeling to Thrale, the latter is reported to have said, "The real reason why Johnson did not apply his faculties to poetry was that he dared not trust himself in such a pursuit, his mind not being equal to the species of imagination which verse demands, though in the walk of prose composition, whether moral, philological, or biographical, he could continue his labours without any injurious consequences."*

2. *As an Essayist*.—One of Johnson's earliest pieces of work after he had settled in London was the compilation of the Parliamentary debates for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. From 1738 to 1740 he edited such materials as were supplied to him, and from the latter date until 1743 he entirely wrote the supposed debates. They were little more than essays upon subjects which he learned had been discussed in Parliament, and were particularly free from any references to facts. One thing, however, he always bore in mind, and that was not to let "the Whig dogs" have the best of the argument. In spite, however, of this vagueness, perhaps in con-

sequence of it, the speeches became very popular, and several familiar quotations may be traced to them. Johnson himself was proud to see two of the speeches which he had written printed in Chesterfield's works, one described as worthy of Demosthenes, and the other of Cicero. He said that he did not intend the reports to be considered as genuine, and when he found that the public were imposed upon he ceased to produce them. A few days before he died he said these were the only part of his writings which gave him any compunction. *Rasselas* again, which first appeared in 1759, was more a succession of beautiful moral essays, than an artistic story. Did ever fiction have a more repellent opening than this?—

Ye who listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy, and pursue with eagerness the phantoms of hope; who expect that age will perform the promises of youth, and that the deficiencies of the present day will be supplied by the morrow, attend to the history of *Rasselas*, prince of Abyssinia.

In spite of the unexciting character of the tale, the beauty of the writing has made it highly popular, and publishers still continue to reprint it.

The first number of the *Rambler* was published on Tuesday, March 20th, 1750, and it was continued regularly every Tuesday and Saturday for the space of two years, until Saturday, March 14th, 1752. The sale was not large in its periodical form, and the production of "copy" at stated intervals was a great trial to the author, as he himself wrote:—

He that condemns himself to compose on a stated day will often bring to his task an attention dissipated, a memory embarrassed, an imagination overwhelmed, a mind distracted with anxieties, a body languishing with disease: he will labour on a barren topic, till it is too late to change it; or, in the ardour of invention, diffuse his thoughts into wild exuberance which the pressing hour of publication cannot suffer judgment to examine or reduce.

A reprint was published in Edinburgh as the numbers appeared, and when completed the work had a large sale, and exerted a very wide influence.

Although not much read now, the *Rambler* helped largely to build up Johnson's great reputation.

The numerous prefaces and dedications

* *Wraxall's Historical Memoirs*, ed. 1884, p. 107.

which Johnson produced may be considered as illustrations of his skill as an essayist, and in no form of composition did he feel more at home. When reading the preface to Capel's edition of Shakespeare he said, "If the man would have come to me I would have endeavoured to 'endow his purposes with words,' for as it is 'he doth gabble monstrously.'" He usually paid very little attention to the mode in which the author treated his subject, and as he said of his preface to Rolt's *Dictionary of Trade*, "I knew very well what such a book should be, and I wrote a preface accordingly." Occasionally, however, he would dress up the knowledge of an author, so that even when the subject was abstruse the manner in which it was presented became delightful. In the pamphlet which he wrote for Zachariah Williams on an attempt to ascertain the longitude, are some specially fine passages. In the name of Williams he paints the evils of obscurity, and ends a beautiful description with these touching words:—

Thus I proceeded with incessant diligence; and perhaps in the zeal of inquiry did not sufficiently reflect on the silent encroachment of time, or remember that no man is in more danger of doing little than he who flatters himself with abilities to do all. When I was forced out of my retirement I came loaded with the infirmities of age, to struggle with the difficulties of a narrow fortune, cut off by the blindness of my daughter from the only assistance which I ever had; deprived by time of my patron and friends, a kind of stranger in a new world where curiosity is now diverted to other objects, and where, having no means of ingratiating my labours, I stand the single votary of an obsolete science, the scoff of puny pupils, of puny philosophers.

The least satisfactory of the work Johnson did for others is the assistance he gave to the scoundrel Lauder in his attack on the memory of Milton; but immediately he discovered that forgeries had been committed, he insisted upon Lauder making an ample public apology.

3. *As a Critic and Biographer.*—We now come to that side of Johnson's literary character upon which his fame must chiefly rest. Byron said that he stript many a leaf from every laurel, but that his *Lives of the Poets* is the finest critical work extant, and can never be read without instruction and delight. The Prefaces to *Shakespeare* and the *Dictionary*, and the *Lives*, must always be read

by the literary student for the importance of their contents, and by others for the beauty of their style. Who can read the noble conclusion of the Preface to the *Dictionary* without emotion? Although Johnson was little able to enter into the higher imagination of Shakespeare, and his magisterial notes on the several plays are somewhat displeasing to the Shakesperian, who does not appreciate such remarks as, "Of this tragedy many particular passages deserve regard"—his preface is full of the most admirable criticism. How excellent is the comparison of *Cato* and *Othello*! and we must remember that although *Cato* is not read now, it was literary treason not to admire it when Johnson wrote. Voltaire had expressed surprise that a nation which had seen *Cato* could endure the extravagances of *Othello*, upon which Johnson observes:—

Othello is the vigorous and vivacious offspring of observation impregnated by genius. *Cato* affords a splendid exhibition of artificial and fictitious manners, and delivers just and noble sentiments in diction easy, elevated, and harmonious, but its hopes and fears communicate no vibration to the heart; the composition refers us only to the writer; we pronounce the name of *Cato*, but we think of Addison.

4. *As a Bibliographer.*—The tastes of the father devolved upon the son, and early in his career we find Johnson cataloguing the Latin books in the celebrated Harleian library for Osborne, the bookseller, who had purchased it. Out of this job grew the famous encounter between the two men. While cataloguing, Johnson read the books, and Osborne reproached him with neglect, upon which an altercation followed. In the end the author knocked his employer down with a folio, and the identical book is said to have been the Frankfort Septuagint of 1594. When Mrs. Thrale in later days asked for particulars, Johnson said:—

He was insolent and I beat him, and he was a blockhead and told of it, which I should never have done, so the blows have been multiplying and the wonder thickening for all these years, as Thomas was never a favourite with the public. I have beat many a fellow, but the rest had the wit to hold their tongues.

Boswell says that Johnson told him that the blow was not given in the bookseller's shop, but in the author's own room. The *Prefaces*

to the *Harleian Catalogue* are full of interest for the lovers of old books, and contain many sound observations on our obligations to the collectors of libraries, and on the variations in the value of books. Some persons had complained of the high prices which Osborne asked, and Johnson makes him say :—

If they measure the price at which the books are now offered by that at which they were bought by the late possessor, they will find it diminished at least three parts in four; if they would compare it with the demands of other booksellers, they must find the same books in their hands, and they will be perhaps at last reduced to confess, that they mean by a high price only a price higher than they are inclined to give.

Johnson could number among his accomplishments the capacity for binding a book, and he was not above placing among the works to be done in the future

A Table of Spectators, Tatlers and Guardians, distinguished by figures into six degrees of value, with notes giving the reasons of preference or degradation.

5. *As a Political Pamphleteer*.—This side of Johnson's literary character is the least pleasing to an admirer of his genius. The politics of the *False Alarm* (1770), *Thoughts on the late transactions respecting Falkland's Islands* (1771), *The Patriot* (1774), and *Taxation no Tyranny* (1775), were those of the Ministry, and they do not now appeal to our sense of what is right. He justifies the action of the House of Commons against Wilkes, and saw no wrong in taxing the American Colonies. He wrote what he considered was right, and he does not appear to have gained much by publishing his tracts. There was some talk of bringing him into Parliament, but this proposal fell through. In truth he knew little or nothing of politics, for it was outside his studies. He was first a Jacobite, and then a Tory, from feeling. He hated Whiggism, but he loved Whigs whenever he knew them, and it would be a most incorrect view to suppose that with all his high-flying notions he did not love freedom as much as any other honest man. He expressed a generous resentment against the tyranny exercised by English rulers over the Irish people, and when someone defended the restrictions of the Irish trade, for the good of English merchants, he

said, "Sir! you talk the language of a savage." He hated slavery with a zealous feeling, and on one occasion at Oxford he gave as a toast, "Here's to the next insurrection of negroes in the West Indies."

I have but little space left in which to say a few words on the personal character of the subject of this article, and little is required, for it is in this that he is best known. To the reader of Boswell he still lives a true man and a real friend, and even if the pages of his biographer were blotted out we might again rudely construct his likeness from those of his other friends, who have enriched our literature with reminiscences of him. If Macaulay has done him injustice, Carlyle has nobly vindicated his character. Of his conversational powers we may obtain a very vivid idea if we think of the remarkable men who surrounded him and bowed to him as chief; how great must that man have been of whom Burke could say, "It is enough for me to have rung the bell for him." The friendship of Johnson and Burke is an honour to literature, and Mr. Leslie Stephen truly says,

The names of many greater writers are inscribed upon the walls of Westminster Abbey, but scarcely anyone lies there whose heart was more acutely responsive during life to the deepest and tenderest human emotions.

He was often rough in manner, and reckless in assertion, but much that he said was meant in joke, and not intended to be taken as serious, and he could, on occasions, be a model of politeness. The comic and humorous side of his character has scarcely been brought so prominently forward as it deserves; for in spite of all his troubles and the constitutional melancholy of his disposition, we find him keeping up his youthful spirits and fun to the very last. His was a truly noble life, and in spite of disappointment upon disappointment he never complained of his lot, and displayed his generous nature with but a small income. A reply which he once made to Thrale showed his lofty nature. When Bickerstaff took to flight it was said there was no cause for astonishment, as he had long been a suspected man. Johnson replied, "By those who look close to the ground, dirt will be seen, sir. I hope I see things from a greater distance."

The eccentricities of character and infirmities of body which gave annoyance to those in Johnson's company cannot injure us, and the more we know of his works, his sayings, and his doings, the more we shall admire the author and love the man. If more of us read these works than otherwise would have done, the attention that has been called to the centenary will not have been in vain, and we need not regret that no public demonstration has been made. Let the demonstration be in our hearts.



The House of Lords.

PART IV.

THE TRANSITION FROM TENURE TO WRIT. (Continued.)

IN the former part of this paper, it may be remembered, I undertook "to connect our House of Lords, as a baronage and as a peerage with the *barones* and the *pares* of Norman days."*

By so doing I proposed to establish that this assembly is of essentially *feudal* origin, and that the fundamental principle from which it springs is no other than *Vassalage*.

It is wonderful, when we glance at the literature of this subject, to perceive the wasted ingenuity and labour, the hesitating results, and the singular errors that are one and all owing to the want of proper definitions. If the great scholars who have handled this subject had only, before writing about "barons" and "peers," endeavoured to form a clear conception of the meaning, or meanings, of *barones* and *pares*, they would have been saved from many a pitfall, and might even have discovered that in the meaning of these terms is to be found the key to the entire problem.

When, for instance, in a remarkable passage, unnoticed, so far as I know, by historians, William de Braose is represented as appealing to the judgment of "the barons my peers"†

* *Ante*, p. 147.

† "Paratus sum et ero domino meo etiam sine obsequiis satisfacere secundum iudicium curie sue et baronum parium meorum, certo mihi assignato die et loco."—M. PARIS, *Chronica Majora* (Ed. 1874), ii. 524.

—and this so early as 1208—it may well be wondered what idea it conveys to those whose eyes it meets, either of the class to whom he appealed, or of the grounds on which he appealed to them. I propose, then, here to adopt as my text four words which occur in this passage: *dominus, curia, barones, pares*. But let us first endeavour to form a clear conception of the meanings of the term *barones*.

Mr. Gomme, if I understand him aright, claims, in our opening paper, that by "baron" was merely meant a land-owning freeman. "The simple man," he says, "*homo, baron*, would become the man who owned land, the baron in a special sense" (*ante*, ix. 55). But the development of the word must be sought, I would suggest, not in the relation of the "man" to his *land*, but in the relation of the "man" to his *lord*. For myself, I claim for *baro* six distinct meanings, most of which were in use at one and the same time.

1. A *man*. Dr. Stubbs speaks of it as "in its origin equivalent to *homo*," and as "used in the *Leges Alemannorum* . . . for *man* generally."* Scholars differ as to its etymology, but are agreed that such was its meaning when it emerged in the eighth century. This meaning survived in the "baron and feme" of the law-books, and, indeed, still survives in the "baron and feme" of heraldry. For *baro*, like the allied *vir*, meant not only "man generally," but man in the special sense of our "man and wife."

2. A *vassal*. "The word," says Dr. Stubbs, "receives, under feudal institutions, like *homo* itself, the meaning of *vassal*."† This meaning survived not only in the "court baron" (of which more below), but in the occasional use of *barones* by certain great tenants-in-chief, to indicate their under-tenants. It may be added that not only *homo*, but our own "man," was undergoing a like development, as in the "*wæron his menn*," quoted by me *abovē*.‡

3. A *tenant-in-chief*. In this, the most important of all its meanings, *baro* is a contraction of "*baro regis*,"§ the vassal of the king

* *Const. Hist.*, i. 365. So, "*tam baronem quam feminam*" (*Lex Rip. Tit.* 58, No. 12) and "*barum aut feminam*" (*Lex Alam. Tit.* 76).

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ante*, p. 146.

§ "*Magnus homo et baro regis*."—*Royal Letters*, i. 102, 104.

being so distinguished from "vassal" generally. "*Baro*," says Dr. Stubbs, "appears in Domesday, and in the charter of Henry I., in its recognised meaning of a *tenant-in-chief of the king*."* How it came to assume that meaning, no one, I believe, has attempted to explain. I cannot but think that advantage was taken of the existence, side by side, of the forms *homo* and *baro* to specialise the latter as a *tenant-in-chief*, while the former represented that tenant's men, *i.e.*, the "under tenants."† That such a distinction did, in practice, grow up, is clear, and its obvious convenience is surely the explanation.

4. A *palatine tenant*. Its use in this highly specialised meaning is most familiar in the case of the Palatine Earldom of Chester. Here, again, I am not aware that any explanation has been suggested. But if I am right in the view that I have expressed in the preceding paragraph, it would follow, most naturally, that, as possessing "the regalia," an Earl Palatine would desire that those who held of him in chief should be distinguished by the same name as those who held in chief of the king.‡

The same suggestion would also explain why the more powerful even of the non-palatine lords would occasionally take upon themselves to address their tenants as "barones."

5. A *tenant-in-chief not otherwise distinguished*. I have already (*ante*, p. 147) alluded to the importance of this distinction. "Every earl," says Hallam, "was also a baron."§ "All the members," we are reminded by Dr. Stubbs, "were barons by tenure, greater or less."|| That is to say, all the members were *barones (regis)*—tenants-in-chief—but those who, in addition, possessed special titles, earls, bishops, abbots, and so forth, were also, and more usually, spoken of by these names. Thus it first came to pass that "barones" were identified, like modern "barons," with the lowest rank in the peerage.

But it must always be remembered that

* *Const. Hist.*, i. 365.

† "Homines baronum meorum."—*Charter of Henry I.* (1101).

‡ "The Earl . . . was said to hold his earldom as freely by his sword as the king held England by his crown," etc., etc.—*Const. Hist.*, i. 363.

§ *Middle Ages*, iii. 5.

|| *Const. Hist.*, i. 358.

this which I have classed as the *fifth* meaning of the word was in use concurrently with the *third* (and others), and that it is only from the context we can tell in which sense it is employed.

I shall recur below to the vital point to which this distinction leads us, namely, whether all the members of the Assembly sat in it as "barones" (*i.e.*, in virtue of being tenants-in-chief), or whether the earls, etc., sat in it by some different right.

6. A member of the *upper section of the preceding class*. Just as the tendency to distinguish earls, bishops, etc., from the other *barones* narrowed the limits of the baronage *from above*, so the tendency to exclude from its ranks the "lesser" barons (*barones minores*) similarly narrowed it *from below*. The goal therefore to which the "baro" was tending was that of a *member of the more important class* ("barones majores") of *tenants-in-chief not distinguished by any higher title*.

I trust the above classification may serve to clear the ground, and to save us from those pitfalls which are chiefly owing to the want of these very definitions.

It is needless to include such forms as the "Barons of the Exchequer" (from whom may be traced our use of the word in the courts of justice to this day)—for they merely represented those members of the *curia* (*i.e.*, the *barones* in the "third" sense) who acted as its Exchequer Committee—or such as the "Barons" of London and of the Cinque Ports, which I look upon as an attempt to feudalise (in form) the tenure of our more important towns.

Pass we now to the *Pares*. Just as the *barones* were, in their origin, *vassals*, so the *pares*, as Madox has shown, were in their origin *fellow-vassals*.* Their parity consisted in the fact of their holding of a common lord by a common tenure. And just as "barones" was qualified, as we have seen, by various words not expressed, so "pares" represented the expression "*pares curie*." But, it will be remembered, this parity and its corollary, the *judicium parium* ("trial by

* *Baronia Anglica*, p. 14. So Spelman:—"Pares dicuntur qui, acceptis ab eodem domino . . . feudis, pari legi vivunt, et dicuntur omnes pares curie," etc., etc.

peers"), was confined to no one class in the vast feudal hierarchy. It was applied to all freemen (*liberi homines*) by the Great Charter (Art. 39), and I have even noted a case in which all the tenants of an abbey were entitled to certain privileges, *except* one unfortunate class and their "*pares*." It was, therefore, obviously desirable that the highest class of "*pares*"—those who were such in virtue of their holding directly from the Crown—should be distinguished from all those who were *pares* of any lower *curia*. In the need of such distinction, I venture to think, arose the style of "*pieres de la terre*," or (as we now say) "*peers of the realm*,"—for those who in virtue of their tenure *in capite* were the "*pares*" of the "*curia regis*."

We have now analysed *barones* and *pares*, and have seen that they were essentially terms of relation. Vassals were *barones* relatively to their lord; they were *pares* relatively to one another. That by "*peers*" is meant simply "*equals*," it is not so difficult to realise; but that "*baron*," which has now so long represented superiority and distinction, should have originally implied inferiority and subjection, is a fact too often forgotten, or perhaps unconsciously overlooked. Hence it is that the ludicrous error as to the meaning of "*court-baron*" has obtained so wide a prevalence. Lynch, the Irish institutional writer, though reputed a specialist on the subject, actually looked on a court-baron as so called from being the court of a parliamentary "*baron*"; while, in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "*C. J. R.*" thus writes of Baron:—

The origin and comparative antiquity of barons have been the subject of much research amongst antiquaries. The most probable opinion is that they were the same as our present lords of manors (!); and to this the appellation of court-baron given to the lord's court, and incident to every manor, seems to lend countenance . . . but the latter only [*i.e.*, those holding by grand serjeanty] . . . possessed both a civil and criminal jurisdiction, each in his *curia baronis*!—Vol. iii., p. 388.

It was reserved, however, for one who

* For the true meaning of court-baron, see *Const. Hist.*, i. 399:—"Every manor had a court baron, the ancient gemot of the township, in which by-laws were made and other local business transacted. . . . Those manors whose lords had . . . sac and soc . . . had also a court *leet*, or criminal jurisdiction."

describes himself as "an official of the College of Arms" (*vulgo* the Heralds' College)* to signalise the advent of a Scottish element into that venerable and, at least on this subject, presumably learned corporation, by committing himself to the infinitely more grotesque error of publicly and ultroneously proclaiming his belief not only that "an elaborate system of feudal peerages or dignities existed at an early period in England," but even that it comprised barons (*barones*) in the year of grace "664 or thereabouts"!† The readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* need scarcely be reminded that "the title of baron . . . is a creation of the Conquest," and that it does not, before that event, "occur in the writings of Englishmen."‡

We are now in a better position to understand the appeal of William de Braose to the judgment of the "*barons*" his "*peers*" (*judicium curiæ suæ et baronum parium meorum*). Dr. Stubbs observes of the Great Charter (Art. 39):—

The *judicium parium* was indeed no novelty; it lay at the foundation of all German law; and the very formula here used is probably adopted from the laws of the Franconian and Saxon Cæsars.§

But the record to which I would invite attention is one far earlier than the Great Charter; it is the writ of John's great grandfather, issued, according to Dr. Stubbs, in 1108-1112, and printed in his *Select Charters* at p. 99. By the side of the passage here extracted I print an extract from the *Libri Feudorum* as almost startling evidence of the sources of Henry's enactments.

CONRAD THE SALIC.

(1024—1036.)

Si contentio fuerit de beneficio inter capitaneos, coram imperatore definiri debet; si vero fuerit contentio inter minores valvassores et majores de beneficio, in iudicio parium suorum definiatur per iudicem curtiæ.—*Lib. Feud.* i. xviii.

HENRY THE FIRST.

(1108—1112.)

Et si amodo exurgat placitum de divisione terrarum, si est inter barones meos dominicos tractetur placitum in curiâ mea: et si est inter vavassores duorum dominorum tractetur in comitatu.—*Fœdera*, i. 12; *Select Charters*, p. 99.

The very use of the rare term *vavassores* is significant as to the inspiration of Henry's

* Mr. W. Lindsay, Rougécroix poursuivant.

† *Genealogist* (New Series), i. 188-9 (July 1884).

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i., 365.

§ *Ibid.*, i. 539.

writ, which enforces the point on which I have insisted, namely, the essentially *feudal* origin of the *curia*, and of its descendant, the House of Lords.

But we must bear in mind that William de Braose, when he claimed to be judged by the "barones," his "pares" (i. 208), claimed to be so judged in the "*curia*" of his "*dominus*." Just so, in 1341, the Lords asserted their right to be judged by their peers in *full parliament*.* Here we have at once a striking illustration of that descent of Parliament from the *curia* on which I am about to enlarge. For what was this *curia*—*mea curia*, as Henry I. in the above writ terms it? In its origin it was nothing but that court of the feudal lord (*dominus*), to which his vassals owed suit and service, in which they were judged by their fellow vassals, and which when summoned they were bound to attend. When the *dominus* happened to be the king, his *curia* was distinguished as the *curia regis*. But it was obviously as *dominus*, not as *rex*, that he held and presided in that court. Now the problem we have to solve is this: Can we connect this *curia* with the *concilium*? Can we deduce the latter from the former? Or must we seek for it a different origin?

On this point Dr. Stubbs observes:—

It would be rash to affirm that the Supreme Courts of Judicature and Finance were committees of the national council, though the title of *Curia* belongs to both.† And it would be scarcely less rash to regard the two great tribunals, the *Curia Regis* and the Exchequer, as mere sessions of the king's household ministers, undertaking the administration of national business, without reference to the action of the great council of the kingdom. The historical development of the system is obscure in the extreme. . . . The great gatherings of the national council may be regarded as full sessions of the *Curia Regis*, or the *Curia Regis* as a perpetual committee of the national council, but there is no evidence to prove that the supreme judicature so originated.‡

The gist of the matter, however, is given in the following passage:—

It may be enough here to note that whereas under William the Conqueror and William Rufus, the term *curia* generally, if not invariably, refers to the solemn courts held thrice a year or on particular summons, at which all tenants-in-chief were supposed to attend,

* "Les piers de la terre . . . ne doivent respondre, n'estre juggez fers que en pleyn parlement et devant les piers."—*Rot. Parl.*, ii. 127.

† The italics are my own.

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i. 376, 387.

from the reign of Henry I. we have distinct traces of a judicial system, a supreme court of justice called the *Curia Regis*, presided over by the king or justiciar.*

The use of *curia*, under the Conqueror, is illustrated by the passage from William of Malmesbury (*Vit. S. Wulf.*, ii. 12):—

Rex Willelmus consuetudinem . . . ut ter in anno cuncti optimates ad *curiam* convenirent de necessariis regni tractaturi, etc., etc.†

And Dr. Stubbs himself (i. 369-70) speaks alternately of these assemblies as "courts" and "councils." Why, then, are we to seek for the *concilium* a different origin than the *curia*? Why should we fly in the face of history when the *concilium*, as I shall show, can be deduced from the *curia*?

It is notorious that among the duties which vassals owed to their lord was that of "counsel"—when he asked for it. But it also is obvious that such "counsel" would, in early days, be rarely asked for, and would, for practical purposes, be little more than a formality. Dr. Stubbs accordingly observes of the early "courts" or "councils":—

The exercise of their powers depended on the will of the king, and under the Conqueror and his sons there are scarcely any traces of independent action in them.‡

As yet, therefore, the *curia* would be chiefly viewed as a court (in the sense in which we speak of "a court of justice") in which the king, as lord, administered justice to his vassals. But as "counsel" (*consilium*) became, in form at least, a more prominent feature in those gatherings, so they would tend to assume the name of "council" (*concilium*). Here we have one of those instances in which, as I contend, a careful study of the *word* throws light on the history of the *thing*. But while this process was taking place on the one hand, on the other there was simultaneously growing up "a judicial system," as Dr. Stubbs terms it (*vide supra*), which involved the existence of a department with specially trained officials. Here, then, as it seems to me, is a rational and consistent explanation of the development of the *concilium* from the *curia*. As the assembly of vassals became gradually known as the *concilium* (from the growing prominence of the "counsel" fea-

* *Ibid.*, i. 376-7.

† *Ibid.*, i. 370.

‡ *Ibid.*

ture), so the title of *curia regis* would be gradually monopolised, in the most natural course, by the *curia* in its judicial (the older) aspect. Thus would the terms "court" and "council," which remained synonymous, as Dr. Stubbs admits, for some time after the Conquest, be gradually differentiated in meaning, the *concilium* denoting the "*curia*" in its consultative aspect, and becoming thus the parent of the House of Lords, and eventually of all "Parliament," while the *curia regis* represented the "*curia*" in its (older and) judicial aspect, and became the parent, not only of our judicature, but also, through the Exchequer, of our financial administration; for it need hardly be observed, that in the Norman period the judicial and financial systems were so united as to be practically one.

Whether the above view may meet with acceptance or not, I would claim for it that it is at least scientific. Why does Dr. Stubbs leave us, after all, to wander in the regions of conjecture? Why is he driven, as we have seen, to confess that the "development of the system is obscure in the extreme"? Because the determination to divorce the *concilium* from the *curia* in origin, and to derive the former, at all hazards, from the Witan, precludes a consistent explanation, and leaves the *curia regis* "in the air," its origin undetermined, its development haphazard. Once admit that in the feudal *curia*, an institution of which the existence is undisputed, we have the common origin, by a natural development, at once of the *concilium* and of the *curia regis*, and all these difficulties vanish.

I am, of course, aware that such a view as this exposes me to the characteristic rejoinder from Mr. Freeman that I cannot possibly be a "real scholar" or have read my "history with common care,"* but, convincing as that argument should doubtless be, I am compelled to believe that the House of Lords descends, on the contrary, "by unbroken succession,"

* "I hold that the House of Lords is by personal identity, by unbroken succession, the ancient Witenagemot, and further that the ancient Witenagemot was a body in which every freeman of the realm had, in theory at least, the right to attend and take part in person. The former of these two positions I do not expect that any real scholar will dispute; the latter has been made—and I do not at all wonder at it—the subject

not from the "primary assembly" of freemen, not even from the aristocratic Witan, but from the feudal *curia*, in which the *dominus* was surrounded by his *barones*.

J. H. ROUND.

(To be continued.)



The Formation of the English Palate.

PART II.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.



HAVING dealt with the Roman sauces, I next come to the various dishes to which the Roman cooks served these sauces. We shall find that they had almost every dish that we have, and a great many that we now reject. We make great use of beef and mutton, which they did not; beef is little used in hot countries. The Romans, however, used veal; mutton they cared little for except wild; but lamb was a staple dish, and so was pork—for which they had a complete passion; their pork, fed on figs or chesnuts, was probably as much superior to our pork, as our beef and mutton would be to theirs.

To take their dishes in a regular order, I will begin with fish. This they cooked in every way that we do: they boiled, stewed, baked, and broiled; they stuffed with various ingredients, and they made rissoles of it. It is an historical fact, recorded in the life of the Emperor Heliogabalus, that that magnificent sensualist was the first inventor of lobster rissoles, which, by the way, the Roman cooks made in a shape and baked; our cooks fry them. Here is a recipe for lobster rissoles from Apicius:—"Isicia de loligine. Sublatis crinibus in pulmentum tundes, sicut assolet pulpa: et in mortario et in liquamine diligenter fricatur; et exinde isicia plassantur." Take off the spawn first, boil the lobster, then chop it into a fine pulp; pound in a mortar with

of much dispute. The unbroken continuity of our national assemblies before and after the Norman conquest is manifest to every one who reads his history with common care. . . . There is no change which implies any break in what we may term their corporate succession."—*Fortnightly Review*, xxxiii., 240 (Feb. 1883).

eggs, pepper, and *garum*, and then set in a shape, and bake.

The Roman cooks made *isicia* of several sorts: of lobster, and also of the sepia or cuttle-fish, and of various meats; their *isicia* answer to our rissoles, croquettes, quenelles, kromeskys, and forcemeats. The usual Roman materials for quenelles were pheasant, peacock, rabbit, chicken, or sucking-pig, pounded in a mortar, and then simmered in sauces, to which pepper, *garum*, and wine, with other flavouring ingredients, were generally added.

To return to fish: fish stews were much in vogue. Here is a recipe. *Pisces qualeslibet rades et curatos mittes, cepas siccas Ascalonias, vel alterius generis concides in patinam, et pisces super compones; adjicies liquamen, oleum; cum coctum fuerit, salsum coctum in medio pones, addendum acetum.* Scrape any sort of fish; cut up dry shallots, or any other kind of onion, and put them into a stew-pan; lay the fish upon them, add thereto *garum* and oil, and cook. When they are done, put some cooked *salsum* (some salt relish, like caviare) in the midst of them; add vinegar, and serve.

Here is a recipe for sauce for fried fish:—*Pisces, quemlibet cures, salias, frigis*; prepare any sort of fish, sprinkle salt, and fry. Then for the sauce: *Teres piper, cuminum, coriandri semen, laceris radicem, origanum, rutam fricabis; suffundes acetum; adjicies caryotam, mel, defrutum, oleum; liquamine temperabis, refundes in cacabum; facias ut ferveat; cum ferbuerit pisces frictum perfundes, piper asperges et inferes.* Pound pepper, cummin, coriander seed, laser root, marjoram, and rue; pour in vinegar, add a date, honey, *defrutum* (i.e., preparation of wine), oil; temper with *garum*; pour it into a saucepan, make hot, when hot, pour over the fried fish, pepper it, and serve.

Coming to their meats—beef and mutton they neglected, for reasons I have mentioned already. But *copadia*, stews of lamb, were very popular. Stew in *garum* and pepper, with French beans, and add a sauce of *garum*, pepper, laser root, and ground cummin seed; and sippets of bread, and oil. There were several other recipes for lamb stew. Kid was treated in the same way as lamb. The wild sheep, or mouflon of

Sardinia, was a favourite dish. For venison they had many sauces, and honey forms an ingredient of the venison and wild sheep sauces, an ingredient for which we nowadays substitute currant jelly. Hare was another popular dish: they stuffed it with pine nuts, almonds, walnuts, peppercorns, its own liver and lights chopped up, and eggs. They baked it, boiled it, roasted it, stewed it, and jugged it in many ways and with many sauces. The shoulder-blade was the tit-bit.

But far above all other dishes did the Roman value pork. And no wonder; his pigs were fattened upon figs, and died of apoplexy brought on by the sudden administration of a dose of honey and wine. Mr. Coote observes that this "is the nearest approach ever made in sober fact to dying of a rose in aromatic pain." It reminds of the story of the Duke of Clarence and the butt of Malmsey.

Pliny tells us that pork was the most lucrative dish they had at the cook shops, and that they could give it nearly fifty flavours; by the time of the Emperor Helio-gabalus additional ones had been invented, and Apicius gives over eighty recipes for cooking pork. They roasted it, broiled it, fried it, baked it, boiled it, and stewed it; they cut it up into all sorts of dishes; they cooked sucking pig in sixteen different ways; they did the kidneys in methods that would charm the Cambridge undergraduate; they made haggis of pork, and here we trace the national dish of Scotland, as we do its national music, to the Romans; but the Romans made the haggis of pork, the Scots make it of mutton. The recipe is too long to quote.

With regard to birds and fowls, the Romans were omnivorous: they ate *omni-moda voltailia*, everything that flies; so did our mediæval ancestors. The swan and peacock, which we now see alone at city and college feasts, are survivals. But Lord William Howard, as his household books show, ate cormorants, and cranes, and herons. The Romans roasted, boiled, and stewed their fowls, but stewing was the method most in vogue; perhaps because they could so best disguise the strong flavour of a cormorant or a stork. They generally gave their birds a preparatory boil before they plucked and

cleansed them; or sometimes they steamed them first.

I have already spoken of one main branch of the Roman dishes, the *isicia*, our rissoles, quenelles, croquettes, kromeskys, etc. I will now call your attention to the *patina*, the *minutal*, and the *salacacabia*. I have already given an instance of a *patina* or stew of fish. *Patina*, or stews of vegetables, were made of pounded vegetables, such as asparagus, mixed with eggs, and sometimes with milk, but always with eggs. Honey, pepper, *garum*, oil, and other ingredients were added. The *patina* of fruit answer to our *compote* of fruit, but we do not nowadays flavour quinces with leeks, or pears with anchovy sauces. The *patina* were elaborate stews, which survived in mediæval cookery, and are now gone out.

The *minutal* was a mess of chopped or minced fish or meat, without either milk or eggs, but bread or biscuit was always an ingredient. The *salacacabia* was a similar dish, in which bread-and-cheese was an essential; it was always set by the application of cold. These two dishes, like the *patina*, died out in mediæval times; they were too much of a mixture, not to say mess, for modern stomachs. The *Patina Apiciana* was a mixture of pounded pork, fish, chicken, becaficoes, field-fares, and *quæcunque optima fuerunt*, pounded and chopped with pepper, lovage, *garum*, wine, *passum*, pine nuts—a regular Salmigondis. A fair idea of a *salacacabia* may be got from *Peregrine Pickle*, where one is described as consisting of parsley, pennyroyal, cheese, pine tops, honey, vinegar, brine, eggs, cucumbers, onions, and hen livers, all macerated and pounded up in a mortar, and afterwards set by the application of snow.

Of pastry the Romans made little use, except for pies. They made meat pies, and ham pies, and chicken pies—pies of all sorts of fowl, even of storks and herons. Their paste was made *ex farina oleo subacta*—that is, of flour and oil.

The Romans had almost all the vegetables we have, except the potato and tomato, and they both boiled and stewed them. Raw salads were in vogue; but, like the modern Italian, they also affected them boiled.

Of sweets the Romans had numerous dishes; and among the recipes given by

Apicius may be found ones for custard, and for omelettes, and cheese cakes.

Snails they fried and sauced in various ways; eggs they fried and boiled, and served with sauces.

From what I have already said, I think we shall have perceived that the differences between the Roman and the English styles of cookery are differences only of detail, not of principle. Mr. Coote sums up:—They cooked their fish, flesh, fowl, and vegetables in manners more or less identical with ours; their sweets present less similarity, but there are resemblances even in them. Their pot herbs are all in use at the present day, except *laser*, which has not been rejected by us, but is lost, or unrecognised at the present time. But a perusal of Apicius shows that Roman cookery was intended for stomachs weakened by luxury; the rationale of the Roman sauces was to promote digestion by raising the tone of the stomach; thus strong and warming condiments were unsparingly used, such as caraway, anise, cummin, celery seeds; also pine nuts, juniper, laurel, and lentise berries. Mustard, strange to say, they used very timidly; only in boils and stews, never with roasts and broils. Pepper they used to everything—fish, flesh, and fruit. It was first introduced into Rome in the time of Pliny, and its *brusque* and fiery taste startled the senses of the *bon vivants* of the city. Pliny was of that number: *Usum ejus adeo placuisse mirum est: in aliis quippe suavitas cepit, in aliis species invitavit. Huic nec pomi nec bacca commendatio est aliqua. Sola placere amaritudine, et hanc in Indos peti. Quis ille qui primus cibus experiri voluit.* In fact, pepper was a new sensation, when first introduced into Europe, and the Romans fell in love with it. It did not supersede, however, the rue and lovage they previously used to produce similar effects. They used all three.

But we cannot really solve the question of what Roman cookery was like æsthetically, until we can find out exactly what was the *garum* with which they seasoned everything. Dumas calls it "*cet horrible melange*," and certainly a composition of fish offal, salt, wine, and pot herbs, exposed to putrify in the sun, does not sound nice to our ideas; nor can we understand how *garum* came to be mingled in all sauces, simple or compound, and to be

applied alike to the seasonings of fish, flesh, fowl, and vegetable.

I have already pointed out that the Roman cookery was destined for stomachs weakened by luxury. It further violated one great gastronomical law. The savours of their rich sauces preponderated over the savour of the viands. The Roman cooks were proud of this. Apicius, after giving a recipe for cooking and saucing a fish, proudly says, *Nemo agnosceat quid manducet*.

The Apician cookery sinned further against the canons of good taste, and that was in the excessive pounding and mincing to which it subjected its viands. Seneca in one of his epistles says: "*Expecto jam ut manducata ponantur*."

To sum up the differences between the Roman cookery and that of the present day; they used wine in sauces, where we use meat gravy. This is a startling discrepancy, but it was done in English cookery in mediæval times. They used oil where we use butter; they used honey—clarified honey—where we use sugar. We go in for joints—beef and mutton—more than they did; we use salt almost universally, though not so universally as they used *garum*; we use mustard more than they did; we use lemon juice, which they rejected; we still use the Roman pot herbs, but we content ourselves with two or three in a sauce instead of ten or a dozen. Our palate, chaster than that of jaded and luxurious Rome, has rejected the more complicated stews and ragouts of ancient Rome, the *patina*, the *minutal*, the *salacacabia*; but we have invented nothing new. The cold waters of our northern seas give finer fish than the Romans ever knew; we have drawn the turtle from the West Indies, and mulligatawny and curry from the East, but we have invented no new conceptions since the rissoles of Heliogabalus.

Before leaving this branch of my subject, I will try to give some idea of a Roman dinner, by setting down a *menu** for sixteen persons, of a dinner given about the middle of the period of the Republic, and therefore before luxury had attained the height it reached in the times of the Empire.

For a preliminary whet, or *ante cœnam*,

* The *Cœna Metelli*, Macrobius, ii. 9.

there were all sorts of shell-fish, such as sea urchins, raw oysters unlimited, fieldfares, and asparagus (*echinos, ostreas crudas, quantum vellent, peloridas, sphondilos, turdum, asparagos*). Shell-fish were considered a great luxury by the Romans, and the Mediterranean furnishes a large variety. The grape-fed fieldfare was also a great luxury, and a *corona* of roast fieldfares was placed round another dish, in this case probably round the asparagus, as a garnish.

Next comes the first course proper: *gallinam altilem, patinam ostreorum, peloridum, balanos nigros, balanos albos*; that is, fat fowls, stewed oysters, stewed mussels, and *balani*, both black and white. *Balani* may be acorns, chesnuts, or dates, or sea-fish—I don't know which.

For the second course: *sphondilos, glycomaridas, urticas, fideculas, lumbos caprugineos, aprugnos, altilia ex farina involuta, fideculas, murices et purpuras*; that is, more shell-fish, including the purple murex, becaficoes (the fig-picker), cutlets of wild goat and of wild boar, chicken pies, snipes.

For the last course: *sumina, sinciput aprugnum, patinum piscium, patinam suminis, anates, quercedulas elixas, lepores altilia assa, amyllum, panes Picentes*; that is, sows' hearts, wild boar's head, stewed fish, stewed sows' hearts, ducks, some small birds boiled (I don't know what *quercedule* are; some bird that feeds on acorns), hares, roast fowls, bread sauce, sponge cakes.

A dessert would follow. This is the *menu* of a very simple dinner indeed; it is at a later period we come to the dormice fed on chesnuts, served with sweet sauce on golden plates, and the elaborate *patinas* and *salacacabias* of the Apician cookery.

Such was the Roman cookery. It had a very long term of existence; it did not expire with the empire, but survived even through the Middle Ages. The Romans brought it to this country; we have every right to believe that it continued after they left. The Anglo-Saxon in his cookery used the mortar extensively, and he used the word *briw*, for an elaborate stew. But however that may be, the Anglo-Norman cookery is a legitimate descendant of the Apician. The Normans liked high-seasoned dishes; William of Malmesbury tells us incidentally that a great

prince ate garlic with a goose, from which we are led to suppose that the Normans had the Roman taste for highly-seasoned dishes. Necham tells us that fish should be cooked in a sauce composed of wine and water, and should be served with a sauce of sage, parsley, cost, thyme, ditany, and garlic. That is a thoroughly Apician recipe.

For the Anglo-Norman cookery of the fourteenth century we have a cookery book to go to, *The Forme of Cury, a Roll of Ancient English Cookery, compiled about A.D. 1390, by the Master Cooks of King Richard II.* This is a vellum roll, containing one hundred and ninety-six formulæ, or recipes. A memorandum upon it in Latin states that it was presented to Queen Elizabeth, as "*Antiquum hoc monumentum*," by E. Stafford. *Hæres domus subversa Buckinghamia.* He was grandson of the Duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded in 1521. This roll was published in 1780, by the well-known antiquary, Dr. Samuel Pegge, a scholar to whom no branch of archæology was unfamiliar. The *Archæologia* contains papers by him on every possible subject—coins, glass windows, cock-fighting, bull-running, horse-shoeing, charter horns, prehistoric implements, etc. Whatever subject was broached at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, Dr. Samuel Pegge was ready with appropriate and learned observations.

The preamble of the roll states that this forme of cury was compiled of the chief Maister Cokes of Kyng Richard the Secunde, Kyng of England after the Conquest, ye which was accounted ye best and ryallest viander of all christian kings, and it was compiled by assent and asyement of Maisters of Phisik and of Philosophie that dwellid in his court. First it techith a man for to make comune pottages and comune meetis for household as they should be made craftly and holisomly. Afterward it techith for to make curious pottages and meetis and sotillees for alle mane of States bothe hye and lowe. And the techyng of the forme of making of pottages and of meetis bothe of flesh and of fissh, both sette here by noumbre and by order. So this little table here serving wole teche a man withoute taryng to fynde what meet that hymn lust for to have.

With the *Forme of Cury* is also published another contemporaneous manuscript. The technical terms of the Apician cookery are puzzling enough to understand; but the terms used in the *Forme of Cury*, though it is written in English, are worse: even the

learned and ingenious Dr. Pegge confesses that they have occasioned him great perplexity. He says: "The name of the dishes and sauces . . . are not only many in number, but are often so horrid and barbarous, to our ears at least, as to be enveloped in several instances in almost impenetrable obscurity." *Brewet*, and *mortrew*, *payne fondewe*, *farced grewel*, sound almost meaningless to us; even the simplest ingredients, such as eggs, are disguised under the term "eyren" and "ayren."

The dishes in the *Forme of Cury* and the contemporaneous manuscript are chiefly soups, pottages, ragouts, hashes, and the like hotch-potches; entire joints of meat being never served, and animals, whether fish or fowl, seldom brought to table whole, but hacked and hewed, and cut in pieces or gobbets. The mortar also was in great request, some dishes being actually denominated from it, as *mortrews* or *mortereleys*. From this you will see that the cookery of the *Forme of Cury* is Roman in character. Close investigation shows that the "*brewet*" is the "*patina*," the "*mortrew*" the "*minutal*," the "*payne fondewe*" the "*salacacabia*," and the "*farced grewels*" the "*puls*" of the Romans. I will give one very simple recipe, that for a "*mortrew*" of a simple character; "boiled hens, crumbed bread, yolk of eggs, and saffron, all pounded together in a mortar"; an Apician "*minutal*."

We find also in the *Forme of Cury* other distinct Roman traits; olive oil and lard (or white grease) are generally used in the sauces, butter rarely. Sugar is just beginning to supersede "clere honey"—that is, honey refined with the white of eggs. Wines, both red and white, are used as the bases of sauces, instead of meat gravy. There is, too, the use of large numbers of pot herbs in one dish; ten are used to season the gravy for a sheep's head, and fourteen to make a salad dressing.

I have already given a Roman *menu*; I will now give an old English one, and then I will proceed to comment on some of the dishes. Like the *cæna* of Rome, so the old English dinner was divided into three courses. This is a fourteenth century *menu*.*

* From Wright's *Homes of other Days*, p. 362.

First Course.

Browet farsed, and charlet, for pottage.
Baked mallard. Small birds. Almond milk served with them.

Capon roasted with the syrup.
Roasted Veal. Pig roasted "endored" and served with the yolk on his neck over gilt. Herons.
A "leche." A tart of flesh.

To take the pottages or stews first. The "Browet farsed" was made thus. I will give you one recipe in full.

Take almonds and pound them, and mix with beef broth, so as to make it thick, and put it in a pot with cloves, maces, and figs, currants, and minced ginger, and let all this seethe; take bread, and steep it in sweet wine, and add it to the almonds with sugar; then conies, or young rabbits or squirrels, and first parboil them and partridges parboiled; fry them whole for a lord, but otherwise chop into gobbets, and when they are almost fried, cast them in a pot, and let them all boil together, and colour with sandal-wood and saffron; then add vinegar and powdered cinnamon strained with wine, and give it a boil; then take it from the fire, and see that the pottage is thin, and throw in a good quantity of ginger.

Omit the cinnamon, and add *garum*, and that is a regular Apician recipe for a complicated *patina*.

The other pottage in this course was less complex, and was a mixture of pounded pork, milk, eggs, sage, and saffron, all boiled together. The syrup, or sauce for the capon, was made of pounded almonds and wine, coloured with saffron, figs, currants, ground ginger, cloves, galingale, and cinnamon; all boiled together and then sugared, and poured over the capon. The "Pig roasted endored," was glazed with yolk of egg, and gilt. The "Leche" was made by pounding together raw pork and eggs; sugar, salt, raisins, currants, minced dates, powdered pepper, and cloves were added, and the whole seethed in a bladder. A sauce of raisins and wine, cinnamon and ginger, sandal-wood and saffron, was added.

Second Course.

Brewet of Almayne and Viande vial for pottage.
Mallard. Roasted Rabbit. Pheasant. Venison.
Jelly. A "leche." Hedgehogs.
Pome de oryng.

The "Brewet of Almayne" was another of the Apician *patina* or stews. I need not give the recipe. "Viande royale" consisted of Greek or Rhine wine, honey, rice, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, saffron, sugar, mulberries, and sandal-wood, all boiled to-

gether and salted. The "Pome de oryng" were balls of pounded pork liver, seasoned and flavoured with several ingredients; then boiled and afterwards roasted, and coloured with saffron, sandal-wood, or indigo.

Third Course.

Boar in egurdouce and Mawmene for pottage.
Cranes. Kid. Curlew. Partridge; all roasted.
A "leche." A Crustade.
A peacock endored, and roasted and served with the skin on.
Cockagris. Flampoyntes. Daryoles.
Pears in syrup.

The two pottages were like the former ones, only more so; more complicated—I had nearly said nastier.

The "Crustade" was a raised pie of chicken and pigeons with elaborate seasoning and adorning. The "Cockagris" was an old cock stuffed with the mixture of which the "Pome de oryng" was made, sewed to a pig, and the two seethed and roasted together; adorned with egg and saffron, and then covered with gold and silver foil. "Flampoyntes" were pork pies made with cheese, and were mild editions of the Roman *salacacabia*. "Daryoles" are custards baked in crust.

The main features of this *menu*, a late fourteenth century one, are distinctly Roman, Apician; the elaborate over-sauced, over-flavoured pottages or stews are the Apician *patina*.

Some of my readers have probably been wondering where is the roast beef of old England in this *menu*? These magnificent and bulky joints had no place in the mediæval cookery of England. The iron-clad Norman barons, who wrung the Great Charter from King John, and who fought in the Wars of the Roses, did not eat huge joints of meat, any more than did the patricians and senators of the Roman empire. The Norman barons in England lived and fought on stews, minces, and side dishes, the bulk of which were eaten with a spoon.* The præ-Reformation bishops and ecclesiastical dignitaries were also great patrons of this Apician cookery; and the kitchen establishments of the larger

* A friend suggests that this, and the excessive use of birds at table, was due to the Norman barons not knowing that a joint improves by keeping, and so finding it tough when used fresh.

religious houses were on a very large scale, as indeed were their feasts. That when George Neville was made, in 1466, Archbishop of York, was on an enormous scale, one thousand sheep and two thousand pigs being but a small item in the accounts.

The mediæval cooks were great in "sol-teltes," or devices in pastry, gorgeously decorated with gold and silver foil, but these belong rather to the service of the table, than of the palate, so I merely mention them *en passant*.

To this luxurious school of living political changes dealt heavy blows. The barons exhausted themselves and their resources in the Wars of the Roses; the Reformation knocked on the head the monasteries and their great kitchen establishments: thus it came about that the habit of profuse and luxurious living gradually declined during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, until it was extinguished in the great convulsions which preceded the interregnum. After the Restoration, we find that the table among all classes was furnished more soberly and with plainer and more substantial dishes, and a new and plainer and bulkier school of cookery came to the front. It is hard to say where it came from. Many assert it was an upheaval from below; from the Anglo-Saxon element in the nation, which had retained its original weakness for lumps of meat, though it had grafted thereon the *bruiw*, a distinctly Apician dish. The poorer classes, however, in mediæval times, seem to have lived mainly on bread, cheese, butter, and vegetables, as proved (among other ways) by the fact of the names thereof being English, while mutton, veal, pork, and bacon are Norman. The plainer living seems to have been a middle-class upheaval in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It had commenced before the days of Queen Elizabeth, but it was Charles II. who knighted the Sirloin of Beef. The change was great: a few great lords adhered to the Apician style of cookery, or Old English; French, it now began to be called. A traveller from the continent, in 1698, says of England:—

There are some great lords who have French and English cooks, and where you are served much in the French fashion; but among persons of the middle condition, they have ten or twelve sorts of common

meat, which infallibly come round again in their turns at different times, and of two dishes of which their dinner is composed, as, for instance, a pudding and a piece of roast beef. Sometimes they will have a piece boiled, and then it has always lain in salt some days, and is flanked all round with five or six mounds of cabbage, carrots, turnips, or some other herbs or roots, seasoned with salt and pepper, with melted butter poured over them. At other times they will have a leg of mutton, roasted or boiled, and accompanied by the same delicacies; poultry, sucking pigs, tripe, and beef tongue, rabbits, pigeons—all well soaked with butter without bacon. Two of these dishes—always served one after the other—make the ordinary dinner of a good gentleman or of a good burgher.*

The traveller describes their broth as consisting of the water in which the meat had been boiled, mixed with oatmeal and with some leaves of thyme, or sage, or such small herbs. Flour, milk, eggs, butter, fat, sugar, marrow, raisins, etc., he describes as the ingredients of an English pudding, and cheese as their only dessert.

Roman institutions have a marvellous vitality and energy in them, and the Roman cookery has reasserted itself in England; partly, no doubt, by survival (even Hartmann's *Excellent Directions for Cookery*, published in 1682, are tinged with Apicianisms), and partly by re-importation from France, where it has ever lived, it being indeed the cookery of all the Latin races. Kirwan, in his *Host and Guest*, says that Lord Chesterfield made most strenuous efforts to introduce French cookery into England. He engaged as his *chef* La Chapelle, a descendant of the cook of Louis XIV. La Chapelle in 1733 published in England a book on cookery in three volumes. Space forbids me to go into the details of that revival; but I have already proved the connection between our present cookery and the Apician.

I venture now to think that I have detailed "The History of the English Palate," and traced it up to the Roman palate of the Apician school, and through that to the Greek and Lydian.

Dr. Pegge, in concluding his prefatory essay to the *Forme of Cury*, apologises for having been occupied with such trifles, and pleads the example of such scholars as Humelbergius, Tomius, Barthius, Dr. Lister,

* From Wright's *Homes of other Days*, p. 470.

Almeloveen, and others. I don't set up any excuse; I don't consider my subject matter a trifle; I take a serious view of it.

NOTE.—Any one who reads the above paper, and Mr. Coote's paper in the *Archæologia*, will see how much I am indebted to that gentleman. I have to thank him for giving me, in the kindest manner, leave to make use of his paper, and I wish to make public how much I am indebted to that eminent scholar.



On Some Examples of Roman Portraiture in the British Museum.

By J. J. FOSTER.

"I say you will be exceedingly pleased to contemplate the effigies of those who have made such a noise and bustle in the world."—*From a Letter of Evelyn to Pepys, 1689.*

"Magnorum virorum imagines, incitamenta animi."
SENECA, *Epis.* 64.

IN that somewhat gloomy gallery of the British Museum known as the "Roman Gallery" is a collection of busts, a crowd of "feverish men turned to marble," to use an expression of Hawthorne's, which seems seldom to meet with much attention from pilgrims to the shrine, so full of precious relics, in Bloomsbury.

To those familiar with the works of Michaelis, Winckelmann, and Visconti, this paper will contain but little worthy of notice, and it would be quite superfluous to remind them of the interest of Iconography. True it is that in these days the study of art of every period receives an attention hitherto unknown, and many popular works on ancient sculpture have recently appeared; but, so far as I have observed, it is mythological sculpture that has been dwelt upon; the human, personal, I had almost said domestic sculpture, has been, I think, somewhat overlooked. Yet these stone spectres of the past represent men of like passions with ourselves; for many of them children ran

... to lisp their sire's return,
Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.

Doubtless many of those who have visited the "lone Mother of dead Empires," to quote

Byron's expressive epithet, have found her lap full of treasures which surpass in interest and strike the eye far more than

The virtuous Curii half by time defaced,
Corvinus, with a mouldering nose which bears
Injurious scars, the sad effects of years;
And Galba grinning without nose and ears.*

Whilst, in spite of "personally conducted parties," it is easy enough to miss even the ninety odd busts of philosophers, poets, and historians in the "Hall of Illustrious Men," and the crowd of Roman emperors and empresses in the "Hall of the Emperors" at the Capitol; and probably few study the collection in the "Hall of the Busts" at the Vatican as it deserves. But one needs not to go so far afield, for there are many examples of portrait busts in the British Museum, as well as a large number in English country houses. From them we may learn something of the physiognomy of the great race—

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatum,
as Virgil proudly calls them.

There is perhaps an absence of any very marked or predominant type in the faces of most examples we possess, unless it be a certain stern, not to say gloomy, cast of feature. The boys seem grave beyond their years, and, amongst the maidens, one will certainly not find Horace's "dulce ridentem Lalagen." The author of *Roba di Roma*, speaking from a long acquaintance with Rome, declares that the "modern Romans are only the children of their ancient fathers, with the same characteristics—softened, indeed, and worn down by time, just as the sharp traits of the old marbles have worn away—but still the same people, proud, passionate, lazy, jealous, vindictive, easy, patient, and able."

Mr. Coote, in his learned and interesting work on *The Romans of Britain*, observes that there is a close resemblance between the countenances of English and Italians of the upper classes at the present day, and I have heard the same remark made by others. But to return to our busts.

When we consider that all these, both at home and abroad, are

but waifs saved from the wreck of Rome, fragments only, snatched from the relentless powers of time and

* Juvenal, *Sat.*, viii.

war, the consuming grasp of fire, and every form of pillage and rapacity, what an impression does it give us of the treasures of sculpture which were accumulated in Rome in the days of the Empire! . . . Talent of all kinds was attracted to this central home, and every aspiring artist felt that his reputation was provincial till it had received the imperial stamp of Rome.

Here, too, flowed the wealth of the world. The gold which had been wrung from the African, the Gaul, or the Briton stimulated the chisel of the artist whose early taste had been formed by the frieze of the Parthenon.*

Here, then, we have a clue to the means whereby these men of old Rome became "solidified into imperishable stone"; nor will the student of Roman history have far to seek for a probable source of the importance attached to Portraiture when he thinks of Varro's collection of seven hundred busts, and when he recalls that ancestral pride which attained such a pitch as to fall under the lash of Juvenal, who asks †—

What is the advantage

To have our ancestors in paint or stone
Preserved as relics or like monsters shown?

and describes one who—

Makes his unhappy kindred marble sweat
When his degenerate head by theirs is set.

These galleries of ancestors had a real importance in those days, as will be evident when we call to mind the *jus imaginum*, and remember how

those whose ancestors, or who themselves, had borne any curule magistracy were called *nobiles*, and had the right of making images of themselves, which were kept with great care by their posterity and carried before them at funerals.‡

These images were the busts or effigies of persons down to the shoulders, made of wax and painted, which they used to place in the courts of their houses, enclosed in wooden cases, and seem not to have brought out except on solemn occasions.§

There were titles or inscriptions written below them, pointing out the honours they had enjoyed and the exploits they had performed. Hence *imagines* is often put for *nobilitas*, || and *cera* for *imagines*.¶

Anciently this right of images was peculiar to the Patricians, but afterwards the Plebeians also acquired it when admitted to curule offices. Those who were the first of their family that had raised themselves to any curule office were called *homines novi*,—new men, or upstarts.

Hence Cicero calls himself *homo per se cognitus*.* Those who had no images of their own or of their ancestors were called *ignobiles*.—Adams' *Roman Antiquities*.

The accompanying illustration is from a sepulchral bas-relief which represents a wife bewailing the death of her husband, whose likeness is placed in a small cast against the wall of the apartment in which the scene is laid.



FIG. 1.

In addition to this custom amongst noble Roman families of preserving these wax effigies, Visconti discovers the origin of portrait busts in another usage common to both Greeks and Romans, viz., that of ornamenting with portraits the shields of honour or votive shields. As this learned author is one of the greatest authorities upon Iconography, I may ask leave to quote a few of his remarks (freely rendered) upon the subject. He says †—

Among all the methods which the arts of design have tried to use in the imitation of the human figure, either in its entirety or only in part, if one of the most ancient is certainly that which has formed only the image of the head, one can demonstrate, however, that the invention of busts has only followed the others, and after a long interval of time.

It is remarkable that Pausanias, "*le savant et exact voyageur*," amongst the many sculptures of all kinds which he counted in Greece, makes mention of but one or two busts.‡

After speaking of the usages referred to above as the origin of busts, Visconti goes on to observe, apropos of portraits of ancestors—

The word *vultus* is used to designate them. Pliny § shows us that these images did not represent the entire person. The information Polybius || gives us of the dress and ornaments with which they were clothed on solemn occasions shows us clearly that they were not simple heads or *herms* like the *vultus* of Epicurus which his Roman followers would carry from apartment to apartment; or of Titus, in the Provinces; or, again, of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, concerning which Capitolinus says, ¶ "One would regard it as sacrilege if you had not them in the house," "Qui per fortunam vel potuit habere vel debuit."

* Hilliard's *Six Months in Italy*.

† *Sat.*, viii., Dryden's translation.

‡ *Plin.*, xxxv. 2.

§ *Polyb.*, vi. 51.

|| *Sall.*, *Jug.*, 85; *Liv.*, iii. 58.

¶ *Ovid*, *A.* 1-8, 65.

* *Cat.*, i. 11.

† *Musée Pie-Clémentin*, Milan, 1821, Tom. vi.

‡ *Ceres* at Thebes and *Hercules* in Aulis.

§ *Liv.*, xxxv. 11.

|| *Liv.*, vi. 51.

¶ *In M. Aurel* 18.

There were then probably—(a) Wax busts painted after nature (from whence came the busts in relief so general amongst the Romans), and the images of celebrated men and benefactors, which were preserved in private houses; (b) those which citizens dedicated in temples; and, finally, (c) images placed upon tombs.*

Having thus said something on the probable origin of busts, let us briefly examine a few of those we possess. Channing has said that "every man is a volume if you know how to read him," and truly in these marble presentments, many of which must be re-

phrenologist may be able to read the virtues and the crimes of the originals. Apropos of the trustworthiness of the portraiture in these and similar works, I may cite an anonymous critic upon the Holkham bust of Thucydides,* who says:—

We are most of us in the habit of taking for granted, until we have been taught better, that all the busts and statues of antiquity are mere fancy portraits, and that the ancient sculptors no more thought of handing down a faithful delineation of Nero or Hadrian than they did of presenting us with a true portrait of Cupid or Hercules. We forget that sculpture was to the ancients what portrait painting is to ourselves; and that there is almost as good reason for believing that hundreds of works of art in marble which have come



FIG. 2.—ANTONINUS PIUS (bust from Cyrene).

garded as authentic portraits, corroborated as they are by other examples, and also by coins and medals,† the physiognomist and

* It may not be out of place to notice here how genuine a ring there is about many of the inscriptions, both in the catacombs of Rome and upon sepulchral monuments in this country: *e.g.*, from the former, "To Aurelius Felix, who lived with his wife 18 years in sweetest wedlock." Wright instances a slab found at Carvoran, in Northumberland, which bears the following: "To Aurelia Faia, Aurelius Marcus, the centurion, out of affection for his most holy wife, who lived 33 years without any stain;" and Gruter has recorded an inscription by one M. A. Paulus, "Conjugi incomparabili cum qua vixit xxvii. sine ulla querela."

† The value of Numismatics in this, as in so many

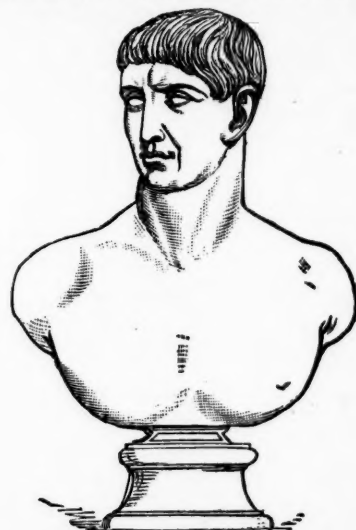


FIG. 3.—TRAJAN.

down to us are as much to be relied on for depicting the features of great men at Athens or Rome as many a picture of Titian or Tintoretto is to be trusted for presenting us with the face of a Venetian merchant prince or a Roman noble. Copies of original portraits were multiplied by professional sculptors much in the same way as they are multiplied by engravers, and there are experts who, by long study, have acquired such familiarity with ancient art as to be able to recognize at a glance the faces of Greek and Roman celebrities as easily as expert collectors of engravings can recognize the features of the courtiers and statesmen of the Elizabethan era.

other respects, is obvious; it is equally clear that within the limits of this paper one cannot touch upon so large a subject.

* *Athenaeum*, No. 2,660.

The series in the British Museum commences with the Augustan age, and extends to the middle of the third century A.D., and thus embraces periods whose annals are indeed

Graved in characters of flame.

I shall not attempt to go seriatim through the collection, I must merely touch upon a few of the most interesting.

By the courtesy of the proprietors of Nichols' *Handbook of the British Museum* we are able to show one or two blocks. Antoninus (No. 2) is noteworthy, not only



FIG. 4.—HADRIAN (discovered on the site of his villa near Tivoli).

as a fine head of a great man, but, technically, for its beautiful surface. Trajan (No. 3) is distinguished by lowness of forehead and massive projection of the skull above the brows. This bust was excavated in the Campagna in 1766. Hadrian (No. 4) shows the beard which he was the first among the emperors to wear.

Striking nearly all these busts are, more so, I cannot help thinking, than an equal number of contemporary portraits would be; but this is a matter of opinion, to be tested by any one who cares to do so, going straight from Bloomsbury to Burlington House when the

Royal Academy is open, and judging for himself. If this be so, it is not to be wondered at, for if they are portraits they must bear stamped indelibly upon them those characteristics which, according to Gibbon,

made the annals of the emperors exhibit a strong and various picture of human nature, which we should vainly seek among the mixed and doubtful characters of modern history. In the conduct of those monarchs we may trace the utmost lines of vice and virtue, the most exalted perfection and the meanest degeneracy of our own species. The unparalleled vices of the unworthy successors of Augustus, and the splendid theatre on which they were acted, have saved them from oblivion.

The dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel



FIG. 5.—AUGUSTUS (from a cameo).

Nero, the beastly Vitellius (who consumed in mere eating at least £6,000,000 of our money in about seven months), and the timid, inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlasting infamy.

One of the best representations of Augustus is from a cameo in the Blacas collection at the British Museum, and though outside our immediate scope, we cannot forbear giving the illustration here (No. 5). Mr. Newton draws attention to its fine execution, and the fine quality of the stone.

That acute critic and charming writer, Mons. H. Taine, speaking of the busts in the Capitol, affirms that "they tell us more of the time than the indifferent chroniclers re-

maining to us." This is a striking testimony to the value of a study of our subject, and truly, when one looks at the superb head of Cæsar, the authenticity of which is evidenced by numbers of coins in the Museum, one realizes what Mommsen calls "the flexible steel" of Cæsar's nature; one sees before him clearly "that bodily vigour, that elasticity of mind and heart, that cool sobriety" which characterized that "orator, author, general, and consummate statesman." What a contrast does not this bust present to one close by, that of the "gloomy voluptuary" Tiberius, which, found at Capri, seems to bear the impress of the man, and, so to say, is eloquent of the mysterious and sanguinary legends which still haunt that lovely island, and come crowding over the visitor as he steps ashore and looks up its vine-clad slopes and rugged heights.*

We have already seen that it was accounted sacrilege at Rome, amongst those who could afford it, not to have a bust of M. Aurelius; hence portraits of this emperor are very numerous. Our collection possesses three of this most philosophic of philosophers, as Justinian calls him; his gravity must indeed have been beyond his years, since at eight he was associated with the college of Sallines, and at twelve he adopted the costume of the Stoics. That representing him when young is very beautiful; another represents him as one of the *Fratres Arvales*. In the third he wears the *paludamentum*: in each one cannot fail to see the same patient, gentle soul "struggling through the stone." Excepting, perhaps, Cæsar's, there is no Roman whose lineaments excite greater interest than those of M. Aurelius. Even if one were ignorant of his character, I venture to assert that one has only to study these portraits attentively to fully realize the truth of Gibbon's description†:—

The mildness of Marcus . . . formed at the same time the most amiable and the only defective part of his character. His excellent understanding was often deceived by the unsuspecting goodness of his heart.

We can boast of nothing approaching a

* There is a fine bust of this emperor in the Capitol, of which M. Taine remarks that "it is not a noble head, but for character and capacity well qualified to carry the affairs of an empire."

† *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. iv.

complete collection of Roman emperors (and this leads one, by the way, to remark how valuable a series of casts, say from the iconographic treasures of Rome, would be: the Germans are wiser in many educational matters than we, and realize the use of such aids in illustrating history): still there are quite enough to whet one's appetite for more, and to call forth those emotions which a study of such instructiveness cannot fail to excite.*

I think it is the author of *Transformations* who has said, speaking of sculpture, that there are men who should have been represented in snow rather than marble; but if Seneca's dictum, that "images of great men incite the mind" (presumably to emulation of their virtue), be allowed, so it must also be conceded that a study of their lives, whether good or bad, to which I contend these busts are an incitement, is full of instruction. When one thinks of the career of many of these masters of the world here represented, how true one feels Bacon's remark to be, that "it is a miserable State of Mind to have few Things to desire and many Things to fear."

In contemplating the striking bust of Nero, of Caracalla in his close yellow wig, and of Commodus, how easily one recalls the record of lust, of shameless depravity, of cruelty and of blood-guiltiness with which Roman history is so deeply stained! how vivid become the pages of Gibbon or Suetonius! When one marvels at the elaborate plaited structure of hair which surmounts Sabina, how true seems Juvenal's picture of the mysteries of a Roman lady's toilet! We can well believe how

She hurries all her handmaids to the task,
Her head, alone, will twenty dressers ask.
Psecas, the chief, with breast and shoulders bare,
Trembling considers every sacred hair,
With curls on curls they build her head before,
And mount it with a formidable tower.

There are several examples of headdresses fearfully and wonderfully made, e.g., the *Stephané* on the bust of Sabina Tranquillina, and others. The mention of the softer sex leads one, and with a sense of

* Since the above was written, there has been a most valuable selection of casts of antique sculpture opened at the South Kensington Museum, which in a measure supplies the want referred to. It is at present far from complete, but contains many good examples well worthy of study, and of especial interest in connection with our subject.

relief, to dwell upon the thought that there was a calmer, purer side of Roman life, an atmosphere in which domestic virtues could flourish, and in which were reared not only the innocent boys and girls, some of whose portraits one may see in the British Museum, but the Gracchi, the Scipios, and the Antonines, and not merely they, but a host of unnumbered dead who "the rod of Empire never swayed," but who lived pure lives and did their duty, at home upon some Sabine farm, or, it may be, abroad amongst the marshes of the Danube, or in some lone outpost of the Empire amongst the fierce Silures. Of this there is abundant evidence in ancient literature; to quote one author alone, who can read those beautiful love-letters (for such they are) of Pliny, which he addressed to his wife Calpurnia,* or his touching letter on the death of the younger daughter of Fundanus,† and not feel that he comes very near, as has been said, to the modern ideal of a blameless gentleman?

Even a cursory examination of these examples of Roman portraiture will reveal that they have a many-sided interest: they claim our attention not merely as antiquities, nor for their artistic qualities alone, but as having, above and beyond their importance in these respects, an abiding, deep, human interest.



Forest Laws and Forest Animals in England.

III.

"I prophesy thy death, my living sorrow,
If thou encounter with the boar to-morrow.
But if thou needs wilt hunt, be ruled by me:

Uncouple at the timorous flying hare,
Or at the fox, which lives by subtilty,
Or at the roe, which no encounter dare:
Pursue these fearful creatures o'er the downs,
And on thy well-breath'd horse keep with thy hounds."

SHAKSPERE, *Venus and Adonis*.



THE generic difference between beasts of forest and beasts of chase was said to be this—that the former frequented the woods, while the latter frequented the open country. In a

* Epis. vi. 4, vi. 7, vii. 5.

† Epis. v. 16.

picturesque passage in *Manwood* (not printed in all the editions) this supposed difference is dwelt on in the following quaint fashion:—

The beasts of the Forest, they are, *tantum sylvestres*: and the beasts of the Chase are, *Campestris tantum*. For, the beasts of the Forest doe make their abode, all the day time, in the great couerts and secret places in the woods: And in the night season, they doe repaire into the lawnes, meadowes, pastures, and pleasant feedings, for their food and reliefe. And therefore they are called *Sylvestres*, that is to say, beasts of the wood, or beastes that doe haunt the woods, more than the plaines, according as the Prophet *David* saith in his 104 Psalme. *Thou makest darknesse that it may bee night, wherein all the beasts of the Forest doe moue, The Lyons roaring after their pray, doe seeke their meate at God, The sonne ariseth and they get them away together, and lay them downe in their dens.* . . . The beasts of Chase, they doe make their abode, all the daie time, in the fields, and upon the hills, or high mountaines, where they may see round about them a farre off, who doth stirre or come neare them: and, in the night season, when euery body is at rest, and all is quiet, then they doe repaire unto the corne fields and vallies below, where the lawnes, meadowes, and pleasant feedings are for their food and reliefe, and therefore they are called *Campestris*, that is to say, beasts of the field, or beastes that doe haunt the fields, more than the woods.

And *Manwood* proceeds to show how in Psalm I, vers. 9-11, David distinguishes between the beasts of the forest on the one hand, and the beasts of the field (which *Budæus* says are the beasts of chase) on the other. When, however, we say that, according to the best authorities, the beasts of chase were the buck, the doe, the fox, the marten, and the roe,—all of them, even the first two,* intimately connected with woods and forests—our readers will probably feel inclined to doubt the soundness of the distinction drawn by *Manwood*.

The most remarkable thing in connection with bucks and does—the male and female fallow-deer—is that, though there is no precise evidence of their first introduction into this country, they are almost certainly not an indigenous species. "It is douted of manie," says *Holinshed* (or rather *Harrison*), "whether

* In an article contained in the *National Review* for January 1884, and entitled "Fallow Deer at Home," the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy says that "fallow-deer are naturally frequenters of woods, only leaving the cover to feed in the early gloaming and in the evening just before twilight." London visitors to the northern parts of Epping Forest have a good opportunity of seeing these beautiful creatures "at home."

our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beasts or not." The question is perhaps not yet absolutely settled. For example, so trustworthy a writer as Mr. Grant Allen says of fallow deer that he "can hardly doubt that they are a part of our old indigenous fauna, which now survives only in a few inclosed preserves" (*Vignettes from Nature*, p. 3). But the fallow-deer's well-known intolerance of cold, and the fact that no fossil remains of this species have been discovered in England,* go far to show that they must at some time or another have been imported from warmer countries.

The seasons for hunting bucks and does were, according to Manwood, the same as those for hunting harts and hinds—that is to say, from Midsummer till Holy-Rood Day and from Holy-Rood Day till Candlemas respectively.† We have already‡ seen what were the "true seasons and times in the year" for killing bucks and does on crown property, as prescribed by Charles I. But it is only fair to add that the king's father, who is said to have killed deer in April at Widdrington in Northumberland, and again at Worksop, on his journey southwards to take possession of the throne of England,§ set his new subjects a very bad example of killing deer "at unseasonable times."

In the present day, at any rate, whatever may have been the fact once, fallow-deer can scarcely be said to exist in a wild state in this country. But Mr. Shirley tells us|| that in 1867 there were 334 parks stocked with them in the different counties of England. Of these parks Lord Abergavenny's at Eridge in Sussex is probably the oldest, Lord Egerton of Tatton's at Tatton in Cheshire the largest, and the paddocks at Magdalen College, Oxford, and Prideaux-place in Cornwall the smallest. There are several varieties of fallow-deer, as the black and very dark, the spotted or Manilla, the white and cream-coloured, the yellow or fallow, the skew or

blue, the bald-faced, and the golden dun and sooty dun.*

The fox is mentioned in the *Charta Canuti* along with the wolf as a creature *nec foresta nec veneris*; but it has long been accounted a beast of venery, though not, indeed, a beast of forest. Its "great plentie of policie and deuices" made it at an early date a favourite object of pursuit. But the taste for fox-hunting does not seem to have developed into a popular mania until a comparatively recent period. We are surprised to read in Holinshed about foxes that

such is the scantitie of them here in England, in comparison of the plentie that is to be seene in other countries, and so earnestly are the inhabitants bent to root the out: that except it had bene to beare thus with the recreations of their superiors, it could not otherwise haue bene chosen, but that they should haue bene utterly destroyed by manie yeares agone.

And in another place he (that is, Harrison) says that "of Foxes we haue some but no great store." And Gervase Markham, who wrote and fought during parts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, classes fox-hunting with badger-hunting, saying that these are of minor importance as compared with the chase of the deer and the hare. How great was the change of feeling which afterwards arose among sportsmen in this matter is shown by the following extract from a book which in its day was regarded as a first-rate authority on sporting affairs †:—

No small number of our staunchest and mightiest Hunters before the Lord, have all other except Fox Hunting in supreme contempt, styling Coursing and Hare Hunting, *child's play*, and the Chase of the Deer *Calf-Hunting*.

And, as a writer on fox-hunting lately said in the *Pall Mall Gazette*,‡ "It is quite unnecessary to quote any authority as to the extraordinary development of the sport during the last quarter of a century."

The fox-hunting season began, Manwood says, at Christmas, and lasted until Lady Day. This arrangement would hardly commend itself to some of our modern Nimrods.

Of the marten, martern, or martrou, we read in the 1615 edition of Manwood that there was "no great store in these Forests on this side Trent," but that in Marten-

* See Shirley, *Deer Parks*, p. 6.

† In a Hunting Agreement of the thirteenth century, given in an English translation by Mr. Shirley (pp. 16 foll.), the seasons are said to be from August 1st to September 14th for bucks, and from November 11th to February 2nd for does.

‡ *Acta de Kymer*, xx., p. 186.

§ See Nichols's *Progresses of King James I.*, i. 68, 85.

|| *Deer Parks*, p. ix.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 243.

† Scott's *British Field Sports*, p. 296 (Lond. 1818).

‡ December 21st, 1883.

dale (or Martindale), Westmoreland, there were many. In the 1717 edition we are told of martens as well as of roes that "there are none now in England." And Harrison, after just naming the marten, adds, "for number I worthily doubt whether that of our Beuers or Marternes may be thought to be the lesse." The mere fact that it seems to be a moot point whether there are three species of martens or only one, is sufficient to show the scarcity of these animals, or at least their power of "making themselves scarce." It seems, indeed, probable that martens have often inhabited districts where their presence was but little suspected. In former days, when foxes were less abundant than they are now in many parts of the country, marten-hunting took the place of cub-hunting. And, apart from economical considerations, the practice appears to have been a good one. Thus Beckford writes* :—

If you have marten cats within your reach, as all hounds are fond of their scent, you will do well to enter your young hounds in covers which they frequent. The marten cat being a small animal, by running the thickest breaks it can find, teaches hounds to run cover, and is therefore of the greatest use. I do not much approve of hunting them with the old hounds; they shew but little sport, are continually climbing trees; and as the cover they run seldom fails to scratch and tear hounds considerably, I think you would be sorry to see your whole pack disfigured by it. The agility of this little animal is really wonderful; and though it falls frequently from a tree, in the midst of a whole pack of hounds, all intent on catching it, there are but few instances, I believe, of a marten's being caught by them in that situation.

Even in the present day martens may be found in England by those who know how, when, and where to look for them. The late Captain Mayne Reid devoted to this subject part of a natural history article which he contributed to the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* of May 20th, 1882. He there says :—

In many of the fastnesses around the Forest of Dean, I know that Martens, if not plentiful, are yet in goodly numbers. One of the Forest keepers tells me that, five or six years ago, he used to see many, and shoot many, too, in the High Meadow Woods—a tract of the Forest which overhangs the river Wye; and there is the skin of one stuffed and mounted in the house of a farmer in that neighbourhood, which very recently fell to a gamekeeper's gun. Again, a

gipsy of my cognizance, who tents in all parts of the Forest, tells me that he and his tribe often meet with "marten-cats." . . . He says they vary much in colour and markings.

If the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, or other the authorities in the Forest of Dean, were to give orders that no more martens should be shot by the keepers, they would confer an appreciable boon on naturalists at no great cost to themselves or to the public service.

Roe deer, which are mentioned in the *Charia Canuti*, and of which Harrison says there was "indifferent store" in the latter half of the sixteenth century, were formerly abundant in all the wooded parts of this island. We read in Percy's *Reliques*,* in the ballad on the Battle of Otterbourne, that—

The roo full rekeles ther sche rinnes,
To make the game and glee :
The fawkon and the fesaunt both,
Amonge on the holtes on hee.

In a note on this passage we learn that roes were to be found upon the wastes near Hexham in George I.'s reign, and that Mr. Whitfield, of Whitfield, is said to have killed the last of them. At the beginning of this century Lord Dorchester turned out some roes in his woods near Milton Abbey, in Dorset; and Mr. Pleydell, of Whatcombe, a neighbour of his lordship's, assisted him in their preservation, and, in course of time, as the animals increased in number, took to hunting them with harriers, and is said † to have had excellent sport. At the present time, as Mr. Harting tells us in an interesting article which appeared in *The Field* of the 5th of April in this year, the Milton, Whatcombe, and Houghton woods hold perhaps a hundred and fifty head of roe. About half-a-dozen of these were in February last—thanks to the energy and enthusiasm of Mr. Harting himself, and to the liberality and public spirit of Mr. Mansell Pleydell and Mr. Hambro (of Milton Abbey)—caught in nets and removed to Epping Forest, where we trust they will thrive and multiply. Genuine wild roes, however, were, as far back as in Pennant's time, unknown south of Perthshire; and though the growth and increase of coverts has induced them to

* Vol. i., p. 24 (5th ed.).

† Scott's *British Field Sports*, p. 383.

* *Thoughts on Hunting*, p. 92.

wander further south since that period, they certainly cannot now be regarded as one of the wild animals of England.

Roes were apparently (like red-legged partridges in modern times) not altogether an acquisition in a sporting district. For in 1339 it was resolved by the justices and the king's counsel that *capreoli, id est roes, non sunt bestie de foresta, eo quod fugant alias feras*. Perhaps their scent, which is said to be very attractive to hounds, offends the nostrils of the beasts of forest.

The season for hunting the roebuck lasted from Easter to Michaelmas, and that for the female roe from Michaelmas to Candlemas.

Beasts of forest and chase, whether edible or not, Manwood tells us were properly called *venison*; but he adds that the word was sometimes used in an extended sense to denote any animal killed by hunting, and sometimes also in a restricted sense to denote the flesh of red and fallow deer alone. Lord Coke, however, who deals with the subject in his usual learned fashion,* maintains that, while no animal could be venison which (like the roe) was not a beast of forest, beasts of forest which were not fit for food (as wolves) were not venison. The point is, of course, of no sort of importance, except as supplying a good illustration of the way in which doctors disagree about trifles.

The beasts of warren are generally said to be the hare and the coney, and the fowls of warren to be the pheasant and the partridge. Here again we have an instance of the protection of the forest laws being extended to a creature which is not indigenous to England. When pheasants were first introduced into this country is, as one might expect, a doubtful question. Mr. Harting† says that pheasants were included in a bill of fare prescribed by Harold in 1059 for the canons' household at Waltham Abbey. If, however, we may trust the well-known metrical grant by Edward the Confessor of the office of keeper of a forest in Essex, wherein we read of

Hart and Hynde, Doe and Bucke,
Hare and Foxe, Cat and Brocke,
Wyldfowle with his stocke,
Partridge, Fesant Hen, and Fesant Cocke,

we may perhaps assign a yet earlier date to the

introduction and preservation of pheasants in this country.

Warrens are said to have been set apart originally for the purpose of the king's hawking; and beasts and fowls of warren, the old books tell us, are such as may be taken by long-winged hawks.* This was brought forward in argument in the case of the Duke of Devonshire *v.* Lodge,† where the duke, as free-warrener, brought an action, in 1826, against the defendant for shooting grouse—a bird unsuitable for hawking—within the warren without the leave of the owner of the land. The duke obtained a verdict at the trial, but was afterwards nonsuited on the ground that grouse were not fowls of warren. Another argument adduced on behalf of the defendant was, that the forest laws, being of Norman origin, were inapplicable to such birds as red grouse, which are unknown in Normandy, and, indeed, are peculiar to the British Islands. The Court, under the presidency of Lord Chief Justice Tenterden (who delivered judgment), seem to have felt little hesitation in disallowing the plaintiff's claim; and as grouse are not mentioned as fowls of warren by any one of the old writers, it is hard to see how the decision could have been other than it was. Indeed, but for some random writing of Lord Coke's,‡ in which he says that fowls of warren are

of two sorts, *Silvestres* and *Campestres*: *Campestres*, as partridge, quail, rail, etc. *Silvestres*, as pheasant, woodcock, etc. *Aquaticiles*, as mallard, heron, etc., the case on behalf of the duke would have been scarcely arguable. The old commentator, if he was in any way conscious of what was going on, must have felt a sort of sinister satisfaction in the thought that six very eminent counsel were retained in this trumpery case, and all because of his use of that dangerous little "etc.," which he was always so fond of. It is now practically certain that Manwood's enumeration of the beasts and fowls of warren will never be overruled or modified by any English court of law.

F.

* Partridges and rabbits can, indeed, be taken by short-winged hawks, such as goshawks and even sparrow-hawks. But there is said to be very little sport in this form of hawking.

† Reported in the 7th vol. of Barnewall and Cresswell's *Reports*, p. 36 foll.

‡ I. Inst. 233a.

* 4 Inst., c. 73.

† *Extinct British Animals*, p. 17, n.

The Miracles of Æsculapius.

BY WARWICK WROTH.

IN Aristophanes' play the *Plutus*, an Athenian worthy named Chremylus has the good fortune to capture the blind God of Riches. Chremylus being a poor but deserving man, ventures to entertain a hope that the god would distribute his favours more equally, if only his eyesight could be restored. It was in Athens, and in the age of Hippocrates; but Chremylus scorns to consult a regular physician, and, after making some satirical remarks on the medical profession and its emoluments, decides that he cannot do better than take his blind divinity and lay him on a bed in the temple of Æsculapius. To the Athenian temple of Æsculapius Plutus is accordingly taken. And here, when it has grown dark, and the lamp has gone out in the sanctuary of the god, a strange scene presents itself. All around are the recumbent forms of men and women, afflicted with various diseases; each one awaiting the midnight Vision of Healing which the God of Medicine is to send. The malady of Plutus is shared by at least one other patient in this bizarre assembly, by a certain politician named Neoclides, who is blind, but who, we are told, outdoes in stealing even those who can see. When all is quiet, the priest of the temple comes in, and goes from altar to altar collecting the figs and cakes which have been offered by the faithful—offerings which he proceeds to consecrate by depositing in a sack for his own eating. Last of all appears the God of Medicine himself; and he, after going the round of his patients, and making a gum and vinegar plaster for Neoclides, restores the eyesight of Plutus.

This is not a scene in Cloud Cuckoo-Town, but (due allowance being made for caricature) one from actual Athenian life in the fourth century before our era. That the ancient Greek slept in the temples of Æsculapius in order to obtain a cure is well known to us from several sources, and, in fact, the remains of the Athenian temple itself have been discovered in our own day on the southern slope of the Acropolis. On this spot the spade of the excavator has brought

to light not only the temple and its adjoining buildings, but also some of the objects once actually offered to the god by grateful patients—votive tablets, for instance, on which may still be seen depicted processions of men, women, and children approaching to the God of Healing and his family. Even documents of the temple, such as the inventories of the votive offerings, have been unearthed. From these we may learn how the blind man dedicated a model—sometimes in gold or silver—of an eye; the lame man, the model of a leg; and the long list of votive ears and mouths and noses and fingers furnishes an index, only too complete, to all the ills which flesh is heir to. Mingled with the models of human limbs are other thank-offerings of the most varied nature—mirrors, and vases, and coins, and gems, and even cheap jewellery, under which head it is curious to find the mention of an iron ring: the reader of Theophrastus will remember that it was a ring of bronze which the Fussly Man dedicated in the temple of Æsculapius, and which he was always coming to visit and rubbing bright with oil.

Excavations of a still more recent date than the Athenian ones—those conducted by M. Kavvadias at Epidaurus in the Peloponnese—have thrown much light, during the last two or three years, on another great centre of Æsculapian worship. Not even the temple of Æsculapius at Athens in the fourth century B.C., nor that at Pergamon in the days of Aurelius and Caracalla, could vie for fame and sanctity with the temple at Epidaurus. Epidaurus was the metropolis of Æsculapian worship, and even the Athenian and Pergamene cults confessed that they were offshoots of her parent stem. About Epidaurus there clustered legends of the infancy of the God of Healing, and in its temple stood a famous statue of the god, by the artist Thrasymedes, probably a follower of Phidias. That statue—made of gold and ivory—has long since disappeared; but coins of Epidaurus, preserved in the museums of London and Berlin, still convey some notion of its original form. A great theatre constructed by the sculptor Polycleitus gave further *éclat* to the place; and even when Greece had lost her autonomy, the Emperor Antoninus constructed at Epi-

daurus new buildings for the God of Medicine and his patients.

It was in the second century A.D. that the Greek traveller Pausanias visited Epidaurus, and wrote a full description of it, which we now possess. One curious circumstance he especially noted—the presence within the sacred enclosure of six stone pillars (*stelæ*) inscribed in the Doric dialect with the names of sick persons of both sexes who had come as suppliants to Epidaurus: in addition to the names were recorded the nature of the disease and the manner of the cure. An unsuccessful attempt has lately been made to prove that Pausanias did not always see with his own eyes the things which he professes to have seen. Certainly the theory of compilation “from an old guide-book” will not hold good for Epidaurus, as may be judged from the following interesting little detail. In one passage of his *Periegesis* our author takes occasion to mention a town named Halike, which in his own time was deserted, but which, he tells us, was certainly once inhabited, because on the *stelæ* at Epidaurus, which recorded the cures (*ιάματα*) of Æsculapius, he had noticed the name of an inhabitant of Halike. It is strange that after the lapse of centuries the Epidaurian excavations should have revealed not only the buildings within the sacred precincts of Æsculapius, but also one of those very six *stelæ* bearing an inscription in the Doric dialect, and headed “The Cures (*ιάματα*) of Æsculapius,” and that among those cures should appear the name of “Halketas, an inhabitant of Halike.”

The inscription on this *stèle* forms a record of twenty miracles of healing performed by Æsculapius at Epidaurus. The writing, which is extremely clear, is of the fourth century B.C., or of the early part of the third century. The details of the cures themselves may, however, have been handed down by tradition from a still earlier period.* Each miracle has a heading

* The original text of this inscription has been published by M. Kavvadias in the *Εφημερίς αρχαιολογική*, 1883, p. 199, ff., with a commentary in modern Greek. M. Salomon Reinach has recently printed a translation of it in the *Revue Archéologique*, with which I have compared some parts of my own version. Another similar *stèle* was also found by M. Kavvadias in his excavations, but it is still unpublished. I need hardly apologize, perhaps, for calling the god Asklepios in this article by his more familiar Roman name Æsculapius.

or short title, such as “Nicanor, a lame man,” “Hermodicus of Lampsacus, an impotent man,” “Thyson of Hermione, a blind boy;” and it was probably well known under that name to the worshippers of Æsculapius. Each entry furnishes—as Pausanias had already noticed—the name of the suppliant, and states briefly the nature of his malady, relating in greater detail the *modus operandi* of the god in effecting the cure. It appears that the suppliant slept the night, not within the temple, but in a kind of dormitory in the sacred precincts, where he was favoured by a vision, in which he beheld the God of Healing. It is usually during the progress of this vision that the miracle takes place; and in the morning the patient wakes up to find himself cured. Of course only the successes are recorded; and many of the narratives conclude with a regular hieratic formula: “And when it was day he went forth whole.” Of the most important of these miracles I will now give a translation, or a paraphrase; but before proceeding we may notice that they furnish additional evidence of the fame of the Epidaurian god; for though among the cured are natives of the place, yet many of them come from a distance—from Athens, northern Greece, and even from the western coast of Asia Minor. The patients, it would appear, made no prolonged stay in the sacred precincts, but slept there only for a single night; and this sufficiently shows that the temples of Æsculapius differed in the most essential point from modern hospitals. Our inscription further shows that, at any rate at this period, the Epidaurian temple had hardly even the character of a dispensary. There are grounds for supposing that the priests of Æsculapius were not by any means always chosen from the ranks of the medical profession; and though they probably had some tincture of medical knowledge, and were able to, and did occasionally, prescribe a rational treatment for the suppliants, it is plain that the God of Healing disdained the vulgar aid of liniments and potions:—

Οὐκ ἦν ἀλέχημ' οὐδὲν, οὔτε βρώσιμον,
Οὐ χρυστόν, οὔτε πιστόν—

and it was to the faith and to the imagination of his patients that he trusted for the accomplishment of his cures.

We will begin our account of the miracles by selecting one of the most curious and elaborate. It is called the miracle of "Pandarus of Thessaly, the man who had marks (*ortypara*) upon his forehead." This man, having lain down to sleep in the *abaton* (or dormitory), had a vision. It seemed to him that the God of Healing tied a bandage over the marks, and commanded him when he had gone forth from the building to take off the bandage and dedicate it as an offering in the temple. When it was day, Pandarus got up and took off the bandage; he then saw that the marks were removed from his face, and dedicated the bandage in the temple. This miracle has a sequel. A man named Echedorus, probably a neighbour of Pandarus, was visited with the same misfortune, and likewise came to Epidaurus for a cure. Pandarus, who had not forgotten the favours of the god, had given his friend money to dedicate in the temple. This money, I may remark, was not merely to be dropped into the Æsculapian offertory-bag, but was to be solemnly placed as an *anathema* in the temple. Such dedicated coins were marked in a particular way, and were kept among the other votive offerings, often with a record of the donor's name. This man Echedorus slept in the *abaton*, and had a vision. It seemed to him that the god appeared and demanded of him whether he had received any money from Pandarus for dedication. Echedorus replied that he had not—he had received nothing of the kind from Pandarus, but if the god would heal him he would dedicate to him a statue. The god then proceeded to bind over his marks the bandage that had been worn by Pandarus, and commanded him on leaving the *abaton* to take off the bandage, to wash his face in the sacred spring, and to look at himself in the water. When it was day, Echedorus went out from the building and took off the bandage. Now the bandage had had impressed upon it the marks which had come off from the forehead of Pandarus, and when Echedorus looked in the water he saw that he had the marks of Pandarus in addition to his own, which he still retained.

A man named Æschines wishing to see into the building where the suppliants were

lying climbed up into a tree. It was now dark, and probably Æschines began to doze; at any rate, he managed to fall from his tree right into the quickset hedge of the place,—a fence of stakes,—and, literally, scratched out both his eyes. Blind, and suffering great pain, he went as a suppliant to the god, slept in the *abaton*, and was healed.

Euippos had had for six years a spear-head in his jaw; while he was sleeping in the *abaton* the god drew out the spear-head and placed it in his hands. When it was day Euippos went forth, carrying the spear-head in his hand.

Heraieus, a man of Mytilene, had no hairs on his head, though he had a great many on his cheeks; or, to state his case in the language of the modern hair-dresser, he was bald, but had luxuriant whiskers. Being annoyed at the jests of which his appearance was made the subject by other people, he went and slept in the *abaton*, and the god, by anointing his head with a certain remedy, made his hair to grow.

Euphanes, a boy of Epidaurus, being afflicted with a grievous malady, slept in the *abaton*. It seemed to him that the god appeared and said to him, "What will you give me if I cure you?" "Ten knuckle-bones," answered the child. The god laughed, but said he would heal him; and when it was day he went forth whole.

Another boy, who was dumb, came as a suppliant to the god, and made the usual preliminary sacrifice. One of the temple-servants, turning to the boy's father, inquired of him if he would promise to offer a sacrifice within a year in return for a cure. But the boy, suddenly finding his voice, exclaimed, "I promise." His father in astonishment bade him speak again, and the boy spoke again, and from that moment he was cured.

Hermodicus of Lampsacus, an impotent man, was cured by the god while sleeping in the *abaton*, and was ordered on going out to carry into the sacred precincts the largest stone that he could lift; in fact (adds the inscription), he brought in that big stone which still lies before the *abaton*.

The next miracle to be related is that of "a man of Torone who swallowed leeches." This man, while sleeping in the *abaton*, saw a vision. It seemed to him that the god cut

open his breast with a knife, took out the leeches, gave them into his hands, and then sewed up his breast again. When it was day the man went forth cured, having the leeches in his hands. He had been led into swallowing the leeches by the perfidious conduct of his step-mother, who threw them into a beverage that he was drinking.

But the healing powers of Æsculapius found scope for their exercise even in the case of *inanimate* objects, as witness the following story:—A certain youth was going down to the temple of Epidaurus, carrying in a bag some of his master's property, among which was a *kothon* or cup of earthenware. When he was about ten furlongs from the temple he had the misfortune to fall, his burden with him. For this constant servant of the antique world, the breakage of his master's china seems to have had in it an element of seriousness which it has no longer for the modern domestic, and it was with real grief that he perceived that the *kothon*, the very cup from which his master was accustomed to drink, was broken. He sat down and began to try in a hopeless manner to put the pieces together. At this juncture there came by a certain wayfarer, who, on seeing him, addressed him thus:—"Wherefore, O miserable creature, are you vainly endeavouring to put together the pieces of that cup? why, not even Æsculapius, the god of Epidaurus, could mend its broken limbs!" Having heard this, the lad put up the fragments in his bag, and proceeded on his way. On reaching the temple, he once more opened the bag, and, behold, took out from thence the cup, made whole. The servant told his master all that had been said and done, and the master dedicated the cup to the God of Healing. This is called the miracle of the "Kothon."

The god does not necessarily effect his cures by means of a vision, and we find that a blind boy named Thyson was cured by one of the dogs belonging to the temple licking his eyes. Another suppliant had a painful ulcer similarly healed by one of the sacred serpents of the temple. It is worth noticing that in Aristophanes the blind god Plutus recovers his eyesight through two serpents of Æsculapius licking his eyelids.

Among the other miracles, which need

only a brief mention, are two curious cases of women who receive the obstetric aid of the god after the birth of their children has been abnormally delayed. The offspring of Cleo, one of these ladies, proves himself to be an infant of no ordinary spirit, for immediately on seeing the light of day he walks to the sacred spring and gives himself a bath. The story of Nicanor looks as if it might be an incident borrowed from the every-day life of the temple precincts. Nicanor, a lame man, was one day quietly seated, when a boy stole his walking stick, and made off with it; the lame man got up, ran after the boy, and from that moment was healed.

I will conclude this account of the Epidaurian cures by referring to two which, in some respects, are the most interesting of all, because they show us, what otherwise we should hardly have suspected, that even by the ordinary Greek the temple-records of the Æsculapian miracles were sometimes called in question. That such scepticism was widespread among the people there is no reason for believing, but its occasional presence should certainly be noted, partly because it is curious to find that even the humble layman of antiquity had his "difficulties of belief," and partly lest we should form an exaggerated notion of the piety of the ancient Greek. In one of these instances, a man with paralyzed fingers comes as a suppliant to the god, but before lying down in the *abaton*, he sets to work to examine the votive tablets in the sacred precincts, expressing his mistrust as to the cures, and depreciating the inscriptions. Still more curious is the appearance of a "female Atheist," an Athenian lady rejoicing in the pleasant name of Ambrosia, but having only one eye. She, too, came as a suppliant to the god, but before proceeding to rest began to walk about the sacred precincts, and mocked at some of the cures as "all fudge and quite impossible," (*ὅς ἀπίθανα καὶ ἀδυνάτα εἶναι*); "for how," she asked, "could lame men walk and blind men see, merely through having beheld a vision?" It is needless to add that both she and her companion sceptic were convinced by the god of the powerful medicinal qualities of the Æsculapian vision; and of both it is recorded that when day came they went forth whole.

One very odd detail is added about Ambrosia. She is ordered by Æsculapius to dedicate in his temple a silver model of a pig. This animal, whether as a votive offering in stone, terra-cotta, or metal, or as an actual sacrificial victim, is often met with in connection with Greek worship; but here the familiar offering is specially "applied" to a particular suppliant, for Ambrosia is told to dedicate the pig "because she had displayed such stupidity," or, as we should say, had shown so much pig-headedness.

Such are the miracles of Æsculapius. And it is difficult to part from them and all their quaintness and old-world simplicity in any very critical or serious spirit. Yet the student of ancient medicine, and, still more, the student of comparative religion, will regard these wonders as being something more than the mere curiosities of old Greek life. For they will recognize in them (and hardly without a sigh for human weakness), yet one more page added to the long catalogue of wonders which are no wonders, of miracles wrought without conscious imposture, related without conscious exaggeration, and believed by the multitude, *quia impossibilia*.



Notes from Cornwall.

By REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA.

THE very interesting and important work of Dr. Mitchell, *The Past in the Present*, is capable of expansion and support in many places besides the Highlands of Scotland, where Dr. Mitchell mainly founded his theories.

I would briefly, in this paper, catalogue a few of the primitive usages surviving in Cornwall, which seem to bear on the Past in the Present, and of which I can find illustrations on the European Continent.

1. The clan theory of society. This tribal or clan idea, the next stage after the primitive family, Sir H. Maine and others have proved to be a characteristic of primitive Aryan society. The clan preceded the nation. Now, though, in most civilized countries, e.g., in our midland or home counties, the clan idea is extinct, or nearly so

it is not so either in the Scottish Highlands or in Cornwall. Researches into the vestiges of clans in Cornwall, the noticing of characteristics in physical aspect, in habits, in customs among the populations of certain villages or hamlets, would, I am certain, show the traces of common descent, the family having developed into the gens or clan. The custom of intermarriages in the village tend to confirm and fix these local peculiarities. In this matter the Cornish is very like the Slavonic village.

A curious point in the Cornish clans is, that, like the American clans, they retain often a nickname, and that is usually the name of an animal. Thus we have the Mullion "gulls" for the inhabitants of Mullion near the Lizard, the Zennor "goats" for the people of the Zennor region on the north coast of the Land's End peninsula, the St. Ives "hakes," the Sancreed "hogs;" just as among, say, the Wyandots of America we have the deer gens, the bear gens, the turtle gens, the wolf gens, etc. This represents a survival of a very primitive instinct of mankind, quite extinct in most parts of Europe. The fact that many of these nicknames may be modern does not affect the interesting point of the survival of the instinct.

2. Then the nature worship which had so prominent a part in ancient Europe is not extinct in Cornwall. The greeting of May or Spring with horn-blowing exists in Oxfordshire, and was once probably common in England, but nowhere is it so lively as in Cornwall. In fact, the custom, like many others, has degenerated into a nuisance, or something like it. The boys blow horns and the girls sing, crowning themselves often with flowers and garlands. May customs, however, have a great persistence throughout Europe, probably from their beauty.

The midsummer fires, in honour of the summer solstice, which are so common in out-of-the-way parts of Europe, in Russian forests, on the Carpathians, on the Apennines, on the hills of Brittany, and by the fiords of Norway, but which have nearly died out in England, are common enough in the Land's End district, nay, perhaps in no town in Europe are they better kept up than in Penzance, where the Midsummer revels—the dancing with fire-torches, and the bonfires in the

streets—bring one back to the scenes of mediæval or ancient Europe, in a way that few scenes in England can do.

But this is not all. In Cornwall we have the variant on the primitive custom which arose in the Middle Ages of renewing the midsummer fires on the eve of the great feast of the prince of the Apostles, St. Peter. The Peter-tide fires still, as five centuries ago, illumine on St. Peter's Eve the shores of Mount's Bay.

3. On this occasion, also, another primitive custom (which has more vitality than others in many parts of England) is sometimes followed, of burning in effigy in the Peter-tide fires those who have been marked out for clan disapprobation. (A case occurred not long ago, not a hundred yards from where I write these words, of a man's effigy being burnt as a punishment for an offence.)

The enforcement of tribal justice as distinct from the law of England is another survival, and one which often makes the duties of recorders and judges in Cornwall very light, as, in fact, this tribal justice, a mild, but not less feared, representation of Judge Lynch, has a salutary effect on public morals. The fact is, the population (or, if we may so say, the clan) punish offenders, and practically make the place too hot to hold them. It would seem that exclusion from tribal privileges was a much dreaded punishment among the Ancient Britons, and probably the Cornish inherit the feeling as the Irish do.

4. It might be supposed that in England all memory of the heathen gods (save such as school boys and girls get out of books) would have passed away; yet I have known children afraid to go by night near a certain carn, *i.e.* Tolcarn, for fear of the Bucca-boo (the Cornish Neptune or sea and storm-god), who was, in the Middle Ages, like most heathen gods, described as a devil. Also at St. Just, in spite of Chaucer's dictum in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* as to the extinction of fairies, I have heard of two men who assert that they have been troubled by Cornish piskies on the moors. We are here brought into contact with very primitive ideas—the last vestiges of the beliefs of Ancient Britain in the ages of Julius Cæsar or Suetonius.

5. Some domestic customs, also, are primitive. The usage of the farmer or the master

dining with his servants survives in many places. Just as the baron dined in his hall with his retainers, so some Cornish farmers dine with the farm servants, the men sitting on one side, the women on the other. Even the custom of sitting above and below the salt is, as I understand, retained by a few.



Reviews.

Records of the Borough of Nottingham, being a series of extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham. Vol. ii. (London and Nottingham, 1883: Quaritch; and Forman & Sons.) 8vo. pp. xx., 509.



SINCE the publication of the *Remembrancia* of the City of London, we know of nothing that has appeared from municipal archives of so much value as these volumes from Nottingham. And in one sense they are even more valuable than the London volume. Nottingham is one of those boroughs whose history has a peculiar place in the history of towns, and Mr. Freeman has more than once set this forth and explained it. Up to the present we have had very little information about municipal Nottingham, except what would be gleaned from local histories, and, accordingly, these valuable publications come upon us somewhat in the light of a revelation. In our review of the first volume (see *ante* vol. vii., p. 148) we spoke of the peculiar value of these archives for municipal history, and although the second volume is equally valuable, we think it would be best to draw attention to its interest for social and domestic history. We must express our regret that our notice of it has been so long delayed.

Among the most interesting documents are the appraising of the goods of certain individuals for legal purposes. These papers give us some kind of idea as to the domestic utensils and furniture of the age. In 1403-4, January 30th, the goods of Robert de Burton, glover, are appraised. They consist of a great chest, another chest, a screen, a small meat board, a form, a trestle, two old vats, two empty barrels, five fish-panniers, three pairs of scissors, a fish knife, four saucers of tin, six dishes of wood, a brass ladle, a powder box, two platters, and a pot-lid of wood, an old candlestick of wood, a pair of bellows, two surcingles, two forks, a halter, a cover, two canvas bags, an old canvas, a chair, a cage with a throstle, a flask, a pepper quern, an old cushion, and a cheese beck. If these make up the domestic furniture of those days, it does not appear that the luxury of Nottingham was excessive. Another description of goods in 1441-2, February 8th, is more interesting perhaps, and it introduces a curious female Christian name, Emmota, which we do not remember

to have seen before. This individual took the goods "with force of arms, to wit, with fists." Repairs to the churches at Nottingham are frequently the subject of dispute, by which documents concerning them have been preserved. In 1443, June 12th, Robert Shakesper brings an action for materials for making arrows. This interesting name is worth more than a passing note. Many of the documents relate to grants of land, whereby the ancient topography of the town is curiously illustrated, as, for instance, the enrolment of grant to John Dorham in 1446, December 8th. Abusive tongues were rife even in those days, as the presentment of the Decennaries attests, and the ladies seem also to have made war upon each other. An agreement for the building of a house in 1470, July 20th, is extremely curious, as it gives the measurements and price. The house was to be eighteen feet in breadth, and the width according to the ground. For "makynge of the seid house vj lbs. of lawfull money of England at seven tymes" was to be paid. This document is followed by a curious bill, dated 1482-3, January 28th, for reparation of the Crown Inn, when all the details of prices are set forth. A deed recording an interview with the prior of Shelford of a deputation from the Mickletorn Jury regarding a close called "Cornar Wong" is extremely curious. It is dated "x dey of Apryle in ye fyrst yere of ye reygne of Kyng Edward ye Fyft;" one of the few documents dated in this reign; and besides much valuable information on municipal landholding, it describes how the jury "leyd theyr hedes to geder" about the matter.

It will be gathered from these few extracts that the volume abounds with interesting matter of every description incidental to the government of towns in those days. Every right was no chartered right, as it is supposed to be now, and boroughs took upon themselves the rightful duties of managing their own domestic concerns, without asking Parliament for power to do so. And it may surely be asked whether this right has ever been taken away by law. A study of municipal history would, we think, decide this question in the negative. We cannot close our notice without recording our high appreciation of the patient and correct labours of Mr. Johnson, the town clerk, and of the public spirit and enlightened mind shown by the Town Council. Why does not every borough in England follow the example of Nottingham?

The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation. Collected by RICHARD HAKLUYT, and edited by EDMUND GOLDSMID. *Northern Europe.* (Edinburgh, 1884: E. & G. Goldsmid.) 8vo, pp. 56.

In an age when old recorded facts are being dug up again for scientific use, and when the early descriptions of travellers are of value to the new science of anthropology, it is well that a new edition of Hakluyt should be undertaken. Let us say at once that Mr. Goldsmid's edition promises to be in every way acceptable. Well printed, good paper, and in excellent taste, this first part is a sample of what is to come. It does not yet afford us any opportunity of saying much about the work itself, because it gives only a few pages of

the text, being for the most part occupied with the original prefaces, etc., all good and worth having with the book. We shall look forward to some of the later numbers with pleasure, and will take care to inform our readers of the progress of this useful undertaking. The first portion commences with "certain testimonies concerning Arthur and his conquest of the North Regions, taken out of the Historie of the Kings of Britaine."

Cornish Worthies: Sketches of some eminent Cornish Men and Families. By WALTER H. TREGELLAS. In two volumes. (London: Elliot Stock, 1884.) 8vo.

Mr. Tregellas opens his preface with a question which he says has often been asked before—viz., "Why is there for Cornwall no companion book to Prince's *Worthies of Devon*? Perhaps the Devonshire men might reply that if the Cornish men had such a book in addition to Boase and Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, the balance between the two counties would be too heavily depressed in favour of Cornwall. We know that a *Bibliotheca Devonjensis* is anxiously hoped for, but it may be found easier to rival the work of the Devonshire biographer than that of the Cornish bibliographers. We do not know what Devon may produce, but we do know that in the greater world there are few Boases and Courtneys, and their book is one to be looked at by bibliographers with mingled feelings of amazement and gratitude.

Truly Cornwall has reason to be proud of her sons, and Mr. Tregellas's selection of the worthiest in arms, in arts and in song, presents us with a fine list of famous names. One special feature is the number of families who have been famous and have given a succession of worthies to the service of their country. The families Mr. Tregellas selects are the Arundells, the Bassets, the Boscauens, the Godolphins, the Grenvilles of Stow, the Killigrews, and the St. Aubyns. Among the worthies in arms are such brilliant names as those of Admiral Bligh, the famous commander of the *Bounty*, who transplanted the breadfruit tree from Otaheite to the West Indies, the brave Boscawen, Lord Exmouth, the gallant capturer of Algiers, and Lord Vivian, the distinguished soldier. The worthiest in arts range from Davy, the man of science, and Trevethick, the engineer, to Opie and Bone, the painters. These last two celebrated men were the only Cornish men who have attained to the honour of being Royal Academicians. The worthy in song was Incedon, who must have possessed one of the most wonderful voices ever bestowed upon man. Rauzzini, an Italian music teacher, who would not allow that any other Englishman could sing, said, after one of Incedon's famous roudades, "Coot Cott! it was vere lucky dere vas some roof dere, or dat fellow would be hear by de ainshels in hev'n." Another anecdote related by Mr. Tregellas is worth quoting. At the great dinner to John Kemble on his retirement from the stage, Incedon sang his magnificent song "The Storm." We are told that "the effect was sublime, the silence holy, the feeling intense; and, while Talma was recovering from his astonishment, Kemble placed his hand on the arm of the great French actor, and said, in an agitated, emphatic, and proud tone, 'That is an English singer.'

Munden adds that Talma jumped from his seat and embraced Inledon *à la Française*. Authors do not figure among the worthies Mr. Tregellas has honoured, so much as the followers of the more active pursuits of life, for the famous name of Borlase stands almost alone—although, perhaps, we ought to add the names of Richard Lander, the explorer, and the Rev. Henry Martyn, the missionary, as they were in a secondary sense writers. Samuel Foote is so completely associated with the stage, and is remembered for his never-failing wit, that one may easily forget that he wrote anything. Other famous men, such as Ralph Allen, the earliest post-office reformer and friend of Pope, who “did good by stealth and blushed to find it fame,” and John Anstis, the herald, are recorded here; and all who love biography—and who does not?—will find much instruction and entertainment in these pages. To Cornish men who are proud of the good name and wide fame of the southernmost and westernmost county, these volumes should be especially welcome. We may add that the type and the appearance of the book are all that can be desired.

Doctor Johnson: his Life, Works, and Table Talk. Centenary edition. (London: Fisher Unwin, 1884.) 12mo, pp. viii, 156.

This is one of the prettiest little souvenirs of this great man which we have seen, and to those who like to possess choice little volumes which, in course of time, will certainly become rare and among the curiosities, we cannot do better than recommend it. It affords a pleasant hour or two in the company of a man who had good things to say and said them. Let Londoners note Johnson's sayings about London.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Rare, Curious, and Valuable Books for sale by Henry Gray. (Manchester, October, 1884.) 8vo, pp. 112.

We gladly welcome and draw attention to Mr. Gray's catalogue, because it contains not only sale bargains, but really useful information to the local antiquary and bibliographer.

The Midland Garner; a Quarterly Journal containing a selection of Local Notes and Queries from the "Banbury Guardian." Edited by JOHN R. WODHAMS. (Banbury, 1884.) 4to, 2 parts, pp. 28, 32.

This is a new friend, and we heartily welcome it. More than once we have drawn attention to the great utility of these local notes and queries, and the specimen before us is fully up to the standard. It is particularly noteworthy as giving the fullest references to authorities. The Rev. Hilderic Friend has some very useful notes; and there are other writers well known to our readers.

The Gentleman's Magazine Library: Popular Superstitions. Edited by G. L. GOMME, F.S.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 1884.) 8vo, pp. xvi, 333.

Mr. Gomme's third volume is now issued. It contains the articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*

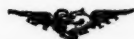
which are devoted to superstitions connected with the festival days and seasons, customs and beliefs, and witchcraft. Some curious papers are reprinted now for the first time, and it was not known that they ever found a place in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. A lengthy introduction, notes, and index are added to the text.

Some Observations upon the Law of Ancient Demesne. By PYM YEATMAN. (London: Mitchell & Hughes, 1884.) 8vo, pp. 73.

This little book deals with a subject that is very interesting just now, and the records quoted by the author from documents relating to the borough courts of Chesterfield are exceedingly curious. Mr. Yeatman gives some curious facts from manor records and elsewhere, and his essay appears to us to contain some important facts, which are well worth close attention from those whose especial study it is to reconsider the history of landholding in England.

A History of Aylesbury with its Hundreds and Hamlet of Walton. By ROBERT GIBBS. Parts viii., ix., x. (Aylesbury, 1883-4: R. Gibbs.)

We are glad to welcome three more parts of this interesting local history since we last noticed the work in these pages. The value of the contents is considerable, as will be seen by an enumeration of the headings of the chapters. Chapter 33 refers to the parish registers, which commence in 1564; 34, to the overseers' accounts, which date back to 1656; and 35, to the churchwardens' accounts, which do not go further back than 1749-50, the previous books having been lost. Chapter 36 is devoted to the ancient houses and buildings; 37, to the streets, derivation of names, etc.; 38, to nonconformist places of worship; 39, to Aylesbury charities; and 40, to the free and endowed schools. The account of the old inns is specially interesting, and we learn in the account of the streets that one thoroughfare, which was originally called Water Street, then Waterhouse Street, and Brewer Street, obtains its present derivation of Bourbon Street from the residence of Louis XVIII. at Hartwell House. Aylesbury residents should be proud of this history of their town, and those who only know the town by repute will find much to interest them in the pages of a thoroughly conscientiously-written book.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Oct. 20th.—Mr. J. W. Clark, M.A. (President), in the chair.—Mr. A. G. Wright, of Newmarket, exhibited (from his own collection) five billon denarii of Postumus, with the legends FELICITAS . AVG . IOVI . STATORI . NEPTVNO . REDVCI . SAECVLI . FELICITAS :

SARAPI. COMITI. AVG, from the Baconsthorpe hoard (1878); also a Roman bronze ear-ring and a mediæval bronze signet-ring, both found at Stony Hill, Lakenheath, early in this present year.—Mr. Lewis exhibited a well-preserved first brass of Marcus Aurelius, *rev.* HONOS with portrait of the young prince erect, olive-branch and cornucopiæ (141 A.D.), which had been found in 1883 on land occupied by Mr. T. Russell at Litlington in this county.—Mr. Browne exhibited an outlined rubbing of the Wilne font, a very intricate and elaborate piece of early work, with twelve bold characters round the base, supposed to be runic or Oriental, and in the latter case probably Palmyrene.—Mr. Browne showed next a rubbing of the cross at Hawkswell, near Caterick, with the inscription on a small panel *Hæc est crux sancti Jacobi*, "This is the Cross of the holy James."—Mr. O. C. Pell, after stating the strong grounds for supposing that there were many "libere tenentes" in existence at the time of Domesday Survey, and that they appear in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* as *villani* holding acres of demesne land, argued—from (among other examples) an entry in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* respecting Chatteris Manor—that the *caruca* of the "lords" and the associated *caruca* of the "homines" were of one and the same uniform standard for rating purposes and for measuring areas of *terra ad carucam*, and showed thereby that this standard was the capacity of a plough drawn by eight oxen. The necessary consequence appeared to be that there must have been at least 1,600 (which Mr. Pell subsequently corrected to 324) "homines" holding virgates in villenage in the Isle of Ely alone. This theory was proved to be correct by a comparison of Domesday Survey with the surveys of certain manors contained in old MSS. of 1221 and 1277, the former having been hitherto unnoticed and the latter only casually referred to by Agard 300 years ago. Mr. Pell proceeded to state the probability that the "sex villani" of the Juratores of Domesday are the "Hundredarii" and "libere tenentes" of these surveys, and noted the payment of "sixtepani" by them. In some of the fifty-five manors surveyed in the above MSS. the acreage of the "Libere tenentes" and "Operarii" is recorded in acres of *Wara*, and that in such cases an acre of *Wara* means twice the quantity (but not an acre of twice the size of one acre, but one acre in one place and one in another) is proved by the Wilburton Court and Compotus Rolls and by entries in another MS. (Additional MSS. 6165 in the British Museum) in regard to the Manors of Ely, Lyndon, Stretham, Wilburton, etc. The word "Wara" is probably derived from some old Celtic root meaning scrub or uncultivated land, and from it was also derived the term "ad Warectum," or fallow ground. Names of places such as Waresley, Wrattling, etc., in England and on the Continent were referred to as likely to have had their origin in a prefix of some form of the word "Wara." A schedule was added containing a statement of the size of the "plenæ terræ" and "virgatæ" of fifty-five manors taken from the MSS. of 1221 and 1277 A.D., with another of the like kind in regard to seven other manors taken from a MS. of Edward II.'s reign, belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Ely and called "extenta manerii."

Erith and Belvedere Natural History and Scientific Society.—The annual cryptogamic excursion of the above Society took place on October 16th, the place of meeting being in Abbey Wood, Dr. Spurrell being the guide of the party. A visit was paid to the ruins of Lessness Abbey. There were on view a collection of old Abbey counters or jettons and an ancient Venetian coin, which were exhibited by Mr. H. W. Smith. This coin is one of the Venetian Republic, and it has some local interest attaching to it, as it was discovered some time back in mud which had been thrown from the small river Cray, at Crayford. The coin is a Bezzo or half Soldino, of the coinage of Augustino Barberigo, who was Doge of Venice from A.D. 1486 to 1501. On the obverse is the figure of Saint Mark with a halo or nimbus about the head, and he is represented as presenting the sacred banner of the Republic to the Doge who is kneeling to receive it. There is also the inscription AV. BAR. DVX. S.M.V. This means Augustino Barberigo, Duke or Doge of St. Marcus Venice. On the reverse is the figure of Christ with the nimbus around the head, and holding a cross in the left hand, and there are also these words or abbreviations, SOLI. TIBI. LAVS. A number of copper and brass jettons or counters, as they are called, were found at Crayford; but the majority of them came at one time and another from close proximity to the old Priory at Dartford. Some of them are doubtless of the fourteenth century; but for the most part they belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some of them bear on the obverse the lion of St. Mark holding the Gospel in one of the forepaws. Mr. Smith was not quite certain of the nationality of these particular counters, but from the fact that they also bear the inscription, SANT. MARCVS, he was inclined to think that they were Venetian. From the fact of their being so frequently found in the neighbourhood of our old abbeys, priories, etc., they are commonly called abbey counters. One of these counters possesses features of singular interest, as it portrays a man in mediæval attire seated at a table and employed in the receipt or use of money; and some numismatists are of opinion that this counter is an especial illustration of a person employed in the arithmetical process with counters or jettons. Possibly this opinion may be a correct one. On the reverse of the counter are the letters of the alphabet within a square. These counters were mostly of copper or brass; although a few of silver and gold are known, and some were struck in England up to the time of Henry VIII. or a little later.

Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History.—Oct. 1st.—Between forty and fifty members spent a most interesting day in Ipswich. The rendezvous was at St. Peter's Church. In a paper on the church and parish, the Rev. C. H. Evelyn White stated that St. Peter's had an historical importance, causing it to stand prominently forward in the annals of Ipswich. That part of St. Peter's lying on the south side of the Gipping, anciently marsh and plantation, at one time formed an entirely distinct parish, known as St. Augustine's, having its own church and green, and other parochial surroundings. It was not until the close of the fifteenth century that this ancient parish was thrown into St. Peter's;

it has now become so thoroughly absorbed that not a trace remains.—Mr. Sterling Westthorp read some notes made on his visit to Oxford in the year 1879, when he went to the University with a view of obtaining the copy of the portrait of Wolsey, by *Holbein*, now in the museum. When he asked permission of the Dean of Christchurch, the Dean informed him that he would find in the Chapter-house, then under repair, an interesting stone. Upon inspecting this stone, which was inserted in the wall on the right hand of the entrance to the Chapter-house of Christchurch, Mr. Westthorp found it to be the foundation stone of Wolsey's College at Ipswich.—Leaving the Key Church, the next object attracting attention was the Half Moon Inn, remarkable for the well-known corner-piece of "the fox and geese."—The remains of the Dominican or Black Friars' Refectory, at the rear of Christ's Hospital School, were next visited. The remains comprise a number of curious arches, and give but a feeble idea of the buildings which formerly occupied so much space between Shirehall and Lower Orwell Street. The materials of the old buildings were evidently worked into those now standing in the locality. In an upper room on the premises of the Maltster's Arms, Quay Street, the archaeologists found, in a most dilapidated state, an ancient carved mantelpiece, which has been purchased by Mr. Felix Cobbold, and will be removed to his residence at Felixstowe. Mr. Binyon stated that a portion of the material was deal; the lower part is of stone.—Arrived at St. Stephen's Church, the archaeologists inspected the curious niche opposite the principal entrance. At St. Lawrence's the handsome and elaborate carving on the outer door of the tower, and similar work on a second door on the left of the entrance, attracted notice.—The archaeologists commenced their afternoon's work by inspecting the borough archives and regalia, which were displayed in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall. The objects inspected included "the loving cup," the silver oar, and the valuable records frequently referred to.—Proceeding next to the New Museum, the party assembled in the curator's room, where a small collection of antiquities was displayed.—Mr. Westthorp first read a paper descriptive of the ancient library.—The Rev. C. H. E. White exhibited an ancient steel-yard weight (thirteenth century) found in the grounds of Mr. Hale, at Claydon. He described it as a weight or equipoise formerly used at the end of a beam in the mode of weighing called *auncel* weight, practised in the time of Edward III. The weight had an outer coat of bronze, very thin apparently, and filled with lead. At the base the outer metal was worn away, and the rough lead appeared. It weighed 2lb. $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. The rev. gentleman described at length the purposes for which the weight would be used.—Mr. White also exhibited a fine copy of the old Sarum Hours and an illuminated Latin Psalter.—Mr. Chas. Golding contributed a collection of ancient Suffolk prints and manuscripts.—The Rev. J. Beck exhibited and described a very interesting collection of antiquities. The principal feature was a set of ten curious Elizabethan fruit platters or trenchers, purchased for 2s. at a sale at Clare. A runic calendar, commonly called a "clog almanack," the rev. gentleman stated that he purchased in Sweden in 1866. It was made

of reindeer horn, and was unique, owing to the fact that it extended only to 364 days. He mentioned a legend on the point, and said this was one of the few calendars supporting it. The date of the calendar was believed to be between 1220 and 1250. Gaffles, or cock-fighting spears, a Persian inkhorn, and some remarkable specimens of flint weapons from Narbonne, in France, were included in the case. Dr. Taylor mentioned that a flint weapon had during the summer been found in the gravel valley at Sproughton.—Dr. Taylor read a paper on "The Results of some Excavations in the Streets of Ipswich." He said:—"Excavations have been made in Tavern Street, Westgate Street, and St. Matthew's Street, Ipswich, for the purpose of sewerage that part of the town. The trench dug for the sewer pipes went down to the previously undisturbed beds of the lower drift, so that a section could thus be seen of all the materials which had been collected and arranged since the settlement of mankind in this part of the world. In many places the trench was dug to the depth of ten feet. The first feature observed was a bed of virgin soil, covering a stratum of irregular-sized pebbles and sand, at the end of Tavern Street, and in front of the Cornhill. This bed of undisturbed soil contained much vegetable matter, and occasional trunks of trees. Passing the Cornhill is the commencement of Westgate Street, and in tracing the bed of virgin soil it was found to undergo a remarkable change. The stratum on which it rested became more clayey and impervious to moisture, so that it was evident a kind of marsh had thus been formed. It should be stated that the progress of all the sewerage excavations is along the base of the high and suddenly rising ground which forms this side of the valley of the Orwell and Gipping. Many springs flowed from along this steep side, and the moisture would naturally collect at the bottom, especially if it happened to be capable of holding it. The virgin soil which covered the drier parts was changed to peaty matter under these circumstances. In some places this peaty soil was five feet in thickness. A "corduroy" road had evidently been carried through this marsh, for the logs of wood were piled on each other in alternate fashion, as if to bridge the marshy places. Near the opening of Providence Street into Westgate Street the section showed this corduroy road very plainly, and I had a piece dug out, when the logs were seen to be secured to each other by wooden pegs. In this part was found a bone-needle and a portion of a comb, also formed of bone. A similar portion had been met with in the virgin soil bed near the Cornhill about a hundred yards lower down. From the ornamentations I judge them to be of rude Saxon workmanship. This black soil was in places abounding in oyster and mussel shells. Bones of animals were also plentiful, especially of swine, deer, sheep, and oxen. In one place the skull of a horse was dug out. The quantity of red deer's antlers (all with the burs attached, showing they were the antlers of slain animals) was surprisingly great. Many of these antlers had the main shaft cut off, no doubt to serve as handles for whittles or knives. The great number of deer give evidence of the wild state of the surrounding country where they abounded. The bed of virgin soil, as well as what I may call its continuation into a bed of

muddy peat, contained quantities of rude pottery, all broken into shreds. From the character of this pottery I judge it to be of Saxon workmanship. The bed of peat was very full also of trunks and branches of such trees as love to grow in swampy spots, such as alder, birch, and hazel. Five or six feet of "made" earth, and accretions from road mending overlaid the two beds just mentioned. From this accumulated and overlying material I obtained, first, some very broad-headed nails, used for tying waggon wheels, and also pieces of the iron tyres, both indicating that the wheels must have been very large and broad. An iron stirrup turned up, remarkable for its rude workmanship. In the uppermost part of the road material, a steel "strike-a-light" brought us up to the date of tinder-boxes. No coins whatever were met with in the older beds, and only a few of Anne and the Georges in the later road material. After passing the site of the ancient Westgate, on the outer part of it, in St. Matthew's, we came upon five human skeletons, at a depth of six feet from the surface. The skull of one was broken into, as though its owner had died a violent death. No metal or coins of any kind were associated with these remains. Continuing the sewerage cutting up to the top of St. Matthew's (where for the present it terminates) we find it ascending higher ground. In the section, the place previously occupied by the virgin soil, and the peat bed, was now taken by a layer of wiry peat, very dry, of about eighteen inches in thickness. This I found to be almost entirely composed of roots and branches of the common heather. The absence of Roman remains is very remarkable. The ancient history of the town of Ipswich is very poor in incident, and this chapter in its early physical history may in some measure help us to realize its first beginnings as a group of rude huts, inhabited by as rude inhabitants."—Mr. T. N. Fonnereau kindly granted permission to visit the Christchurch Elizabethan mansion.—The Rev. C. H. E. White read from copious notes in the hall, stating that the mansion occupied the site of the old Christchurch or Holy Trinity Priory, established in 1172—one of the earliest monasteries in the town. It was inhabited by the Augustine Canons, but was not large.—The Rev. C. H. E. White also read a paper on Ipswich taverns.

Shropshire Archæological Society.—Sept. 14th.—At the annual meeting Mr. F. Goyne, the secretary, read the following report:—"I have the pleasure to report to the committee that a large addition has been made to the numismatical department during the past twelve months, an addition which goes very far to make the entire collection of coins and medals a very valuable one to the student of numismatics, especially to those who find in that science a never-failing and trustworthy helpmate to the history, mythology, palæography, and metrology of past ages. I refer to the very fine collection which was purchased by private subscriptions of members of the committee and other friends from the representatives of the late Mr. James Spence, the nucleus of which collection was formed by Mr. Henry Pidgeon, at a time when the treasures of Uriconium were less valued by the general public than they have been of late, when consequently the rustic finders were more ready to dispose of them at a fair price, and when, in fact,

they were more abundant than they are now. To the rough classification of this hoard I have devoted only time sufficient to make me acquainted with its particulars in a general way. It is contained in a cabinet and a small, shallow, mahogany box. The latter is divided into about a dozen compartments, seven of which are filled with several hundred Roman coins and medals in various stages of preservation—large, middle, and small brass. Among these may be seen many fine and choice specimens, which cannot fail to satisfy the most exacting requirements. There are also over two hundred coins of a less perfect character, which will supply duplicates and fill up the gaps in the other hoards already possessed by the Society. In this box are also a fine series of those tokens called after the name of the city where they were issued—Nuremberg tokens—with many copper coins of the present and preceding English sovereigns, and foreign current and uncurrent coins. A very interesting group of tokens, issued by Shrewsbury tradesmen in the seventeenth century, fills one compartment of this box, several of which have not been hitherto described or noticed. In the large cabinet are a number of trays filling three drawers, which I have been enabled to classify in a general way without disturbing materially the work of Mr. Pidgeon or Mr. Spence. In the first drawer and tray thereof are the Shrewsbury and Shropshire tokens of the seventeenth century, together with those of adjoining counties. In the second, third, and fourth trays, English half-pence and farthings of the last three centuries. In the fifth and sixth, foreign medals and coins, principally copper. The seventh tray is now empty, but affords room for more particular classification. The second drawer contains three paper boxes and seven trays. The boxes contain tokens, Oriental coins, coronation medals, American, Mexican, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and other silver coins, with the very fine and rare Dutch medal, commemorating the brothers De Witt. The first and second trays, the large, middle, and small currency of Edward VI., Elizabeth, and succeeding English monarchs down to the present time, being crowns, half-crowns, and shillings. The third and fourth, shillings, sixpences, smaller coins, and Maundy money. The fifth and sixth, silver pennies, prior to the reign of Elizabeth, while the sixth and seventh are now empty. The third drawer has nine trays, which contain Roman denarii (the penny of Holy Writ), large, middle, and small brass of the Roman emperors and others, amongst which are found some very interesting specimens found at Llanymynech and places in the neighbourhood other than Uriconium."—Mr. R. Jasper More moved the adoption of the report, and said he wished to say a word about Edward I. and Lord Chancellor Burnell. Last year was, he believed, the sixth centenary of the first parliament held at Shrewsbury to which borough members were first legally invited. He wished the attention of the Society to be directed to this fact, to see whether it would not be worth while to erect a memorial to that very important historical event. That morning he had received a letter from the Bishop of Chester on this subject.—The chairman expressed an opinion that some memorial should be raised to the memory of Lord Chancellor Burnell, who presided over the first parliament to which

borough members were legally called. No memorial of the event existed, and the question arose, Would it be worth the while of this Society to take some steps in the matter? It was probably held in a building at Acton Burnell, and it is said by some that the Lords and Commons sat together, but it had been suggested to him by Sir Travers Twiss that the Lords probably sat at the hall and the Commons in a building a portion of which was still standing. These were things that might be gone into by the Society. He had seen all the writs that were sent out for this parliament, copies of which were in Shrewsbury, and he found the representatives of twenty-one towns were summoned to Shrewsbury, and there were about ninety-nine peers. They were probably entertained at the old buildings of the Abbey, and the parliamentary sittings were so important that Edward I. stayed for six weeks at Acton Burnell with his chancellors. Lord Chancellor Campbell in his *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, said the story of Burnell had only been considered by dry antiquaries unable to appreciate his merits.

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.
—Sept. 18th.—Between forty and fifty members left Manchester by train and arrived at Nantwich for the purpose of visiting various objects of antiquarian interest in the locality. The party, which had become separated, rejoined in the parish church, where the Rev. T. W. Norwood, in describing it, said he proposed to do so in the order in which it was constructed—namely, from west to east. He pointed out that it was not the first church at Nantwich—namely, that which is recorded as having been given to the Abbey of Combermere soon after its foundation, along with the mother church of Acton. The present church of Nantwich is a building mostly of the fourteenth century, with some few additions of the first years of the fifteenth. The nave is a very graceful specimen of Early Decorated work, with clustered columns, bell-shaped bases, and isosceles arches, all covered with the *Wave* moulding. The abaci of the capitals are slightly under-cut, which looks Early and Transitional. Just above one of them is a bracket with the embattled moulding which came into use again as an ornament about the beginning of Edward III.'s reign, having been disused from Norman times. The nave of Nantwich owes its beauty much more to elegance of form than to detail of decoration, of which, indeed, there is singularly little, considering in what an age of ornament it was built. Mr. Norwood pointed out particularly that the chief architectural puzzle of the church is the mixture of styles in the western arch supporting the tower, where the concave basement mouldings and the stiff-leaved foliage on the caps are associated with Decorated jamb mouldings, the scroll-moulding abacus, and a continuous series of wave mouldings on the arch. This is a mixture of Late Norman forms with Decorated. There is a library over the church porch with no books of great value, and off the east side of the porch a little apartment, as if for a custodian priest, part of whose duty it may have been to celebrate marriages in the church porch, as Chaucer says of the "Wife of Bath": "Husbondes at the chyrche dor, hadde she had fyve."—After leaving Nantwich church the visitors drove to Dorfold Hall, situate about a mile from Nantwich. —Mr. James Hall read a paper:—"Dorfold, or as it

was called prior to the eighteenth century, Deerfold, Derfold, or Darford—the last being an old pronunciation of the word, which local vernacular has corrupted into Darfoot—is the name of an ancient manor in the parish of Acton, about a mile from the town of Nantwich. Acton, or oak-town, doubtless received its name from a primeval forest, described in the Domesday Survey as 'six leagues long and one broad.' The same record mentions, not however by name, 'a manor' and 'a mill' in Acton, which in Saxon times belonged to Edwin, Earl of Mercia; and two resident 'priests,' implying the existence of a church. Deerfold occurs in a deed temp. Hen. III. as 'Deerfold park pool, and mill opposite the gate of the Manor,' then the property of John de Wetenhale. When a murderous warfare was kept up between the people of Cheshire and the Welsh borderers, and when lawless bands of robbers infested woods and lonely places, the lords of manors found it necessary for their own personal safety and for the protection of their deer, or, as we should now say, their cattle (the Saxon word *deor* signifying animals in general), to build their manor-houses and farms, as places of defence; and when they took the form of enclosures having only a single entrance, or gateway, such places were commonly called 'folds.' From the time of Henry III. to the end of Elizabeth's reign, a period of about four hundred years, Deerfold was held by the families of Wetenhale, Arderne, Davenport, and Bromley, in succession; until it was sold in or about 1602 by William Bromley, brother of the Lord-Chancellor Bromley, to Sir Roger Wilbraham, Kt., Solicitor-General of Ireland, Master of Requests to Queen Elizabeth, Surveyor of the Court of Wards to James I., and son of Richard Wilbraham, gentleman, of Nantwich. Sir Roger Wilbraham, who was married and lived in London, shortly after the purchase of Deerfold, handed over the estate as a gift to his youngest brother, Ralph Wilbraham, who held the office of Feodary for the counties of Chester and Flint.—The visitors spent some time in examining the magnificent dining hall, in which is a portrait of Ralph Wilbraham (who built the mansion in 1616), together with many other family portraits and paintings by some of the great masters. King James's room also attracted a share of notice, from the circumstance that it was said to have been especially prepared in view of His Majesty's expected visit when he came to Nantwich in 1617, "and went to see the Bryne pit." On the table in the drawing-room was a Bible in good preservation printed in the year 1541, and a curious old MS. book containing the pedigrees and coats of arms of most of the local and county families.—After leaving Dorfold Hall the party drove to Acton church, where they were received by the vicar, the Rev. James White.—The Rev. T. W. Norwood said the church of Acton was the mother church of the neighbourhood; it had two priests at the time of the Domesday Book Survey. Their residence may have been in the square-moated enclosure west of the church, which is now in the vicar's paddock, though some have thought that that was the site of a Saxon house of Edwin, Earl of Mercia. The lower portion of the tower is of fine Pointed Norman age and masonry, with three Norman lancets in the thick west wall. It rests on three arches, north, south, and

east, of which the two former are lower and rather earlier than the latter, being of Transition from Norman character pointed, with a nave-head ornament. The eastern tower arch is Transitional from Norman to Early English, with the Dog-tooth on its north capital, and the Trowel-point on its south, by which it is seen that the church was carried eastward from the tower with but little interval of time. The nave, too, is Early English, with Pointed arches on octagon piers, and some remains of Dog-tooth on the much-mutilated capitals, which were probably injured into their present condition when the church was held as a fortress, first by one party and then by the other, in the wars of Charles and the Parliament. All the ancient records and registers of the church are said to have perished at that time. The north aisle of the nave is a chantry of the great neighbouring family of Mainwaring, of Baddiley; and in the north wall, towards the east end of it, there remains a very elaborate canopied tomb of William Mainwaring, who died in the year 1399, which, therefore, is about the date of this chantry. His arms, which are "two bars," are upon the buttresses of its exterior from east to west.—A pleasant drive brought the party to Bunbury Church. The Rev. T. W. Norwood said of Bunbury that the plan of the church is west tower, nave, and two aisles, a chancel, south chapel, and south porch. The lower part of the tower is handsome Early Decorated work, with a very graceful west window in the *façade*, of about the same age as the nave of Nantwich. The north drip termination of this window is a lady's head wearing the wimple of Edward II., and the scroll-moulding occurs as a string on the same front. There are two buttresses, rectangular to the wall, of several stages. The upper part of the tower is rather poor Perpendicular. Within the tower, as at Acton, rests on three arches, but all of one character—namely, Early Decorated, with roll and fillet and wave mouldings as at Nantwich, with which this work is therefore coeval; the same masons may have carved both. Proceeding eastward, it is seen that the nave, aisles, and clerestory have been rebuilt from the ground, in the Last Perpendicular age, as is shown by the Lady Margaret's chevron head-dress in the interior of the north aisle, and by the generally shallow character and mouldings of the whole work, which, though so slight and comparatively poor, is yet spacious, and not inelegant. The chancel is said to have been founded in 1385, by Sir Hugh Calveley, a great knight errant of that time. The south porch is Decorated, like the west front, near which, in the churchyard, lie many monumental stones of great interest and curiosity, which are carelessly suffered to perish under exposure to the weather, as if there were no vicar and no rural dean. It is a unique collection of monuments for Cheshire, so far as is known. The stones are thirteen in number, ranging from a rudely incised coffin stone with an ill-drawn wheel cross, probably Early Norman, to two female effigies of the beautiful work of Edward II. style, as the dresses and wimples show. There are a stone coffin and mutilated figures of men in armour of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but most beautiful are the much-worn decorated female effigies. Many of these stones are made precious by the legends upon them in large Lombardic letters and Norman-French inscriptions of

the Edwardian time.—After leaving Bunbury Church a quarter of an hour's drive brought the party to the entrance lodge at Beeston Castle.

Russian Archaeological Congress.—Aug. 27th.

—The sixth Russian Archaeological Congress was held at Odessa. The proceedings were opened by Professor I. S. Nekrassof, the dean of the historical-philological faculty of the University of Odessa, who stated that excavations which had been recently undertaken had brought to light a whole necropolis upon the island of Berezani, and an expedition to Constantinople had lately been undertaken by some members of the rising school of "Byzantinists."—August 28th commenced with a paper, by Prince Poutyagin, upon the ornamentation of primitive pottery, and another, by M. Orloff, upon the history of Odessa from 1794 to 1804, chiefly based upon archives preserved at the Ministry of Justice.—The afternoon of the same day was devoted to classic interests. Professor Modestof read a paper upon the introduction of uniformity in the Russian pronunciation and orthography of Greek names.—The discussion which ensued resulted in a proposal that M. Modestof should draw up a list of the Greek names in the locality with their correct spelling. The most valuable paper of the afternoon was that of Professor Latyshev, whom the Archaeological Society of St. Petersburg has commissioned to collect and edit all the Greek inscriptions of Southern Russia. Six sheets of this important collection of inscriptions, which are elucidated with a Latin text, have already appeared.—On the following day papers were read on early judicial forms, by Professor M. M. Kovalevsky, of Moscow, and on the caves in the basin of the Dnieper, by Professor V. B. Antonovich. The afternoon was again devoted to classic subjects. The first paper, by M. Yourgeich, was an essay upon the situation of several ancient Greek settlements, the sites of which have not hitherto been satisfactorily ascertained. The Tyra, Eupatoria, and Tanais of the ancients are identified by Professor Yourgeich with the sites respectively of Akerman, Inkerman, in the Crimea, and Azof. A paper was next read upon the Kallinidi, one of the numerous Scythian tribes, by Professor Lioupersolsky, who shows that this people was not derived from an amalgamation of the Greeks with the barbarians, but was a race of pure barbarians who had gained some acquaintance with Hellenic culture.—August 30th was largely taken up with matters coming within the range of Byzantine archaeology. Professor Ouspensky, of Odessa, contributed an account of an unedited Greek text relating to Sviatoslav and Vladimir. The Caucasus supplied M. Leontovich with the subject of his paper on the "Kavdassardi," and furnished the materials for Professor M. M. Kovalevsky's remarks upon the oaths in use among the Qesetini. Among other papers which were read on the same day, and which deserve particular notice, was one upon Little Russian antiquities, by M. Ivanitzky.

York Field Naturalists' and Scientific Society.

—Oct. 23rd.—Mr. H. G. Spencer, the president, occupied the chair.—Mr. R. B. Cook exhibited twenty-six silver pennies of William the Conqueror, found at York some years ago. These coins were beautifully mounted between glass, and had been struck by nineteen different moneyers, at the following places of

mintage:—Chichester, Huntingdon, Lincoln, London, Sandwich, Shaftesbury, Thetford, Wareham, Winchester, and York.—After the usual business, Mr. A. R. Waller read an essay on the "Crimes of Plants," dealing chiefly with vegetable parasites.

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—Oct. 8th.—Annual meeting.—The retiring president, Captain F. Norman, R.N., read his address, more especially referring to Darwinism and its growth in the estimation of the scientific world.—Some time was spent in looking at the excellent collection which the members of the Berwick Museum have been able to exhibit during the comparatively short period of their existence—viz., thirteen years. Mr. Walby, of Berwick, brought for inspection a beautifully-preserved collection of algae from the Northumbrian coast, and the Rev. D. Paul, of Roxburgh, exhibited an absolutely perfect stone celt, about seven inches in length, turned up by a ploughman on the farm of Marfield, about twelve years ago.

British Archaeological Association.—Oct. 25th.—The Society visited Whitgift's Hospital, the old palace, and the fine parish church of Croydon. The history and associations of the two former buildings were fully described by Mr. S. Wayland Kershaw, while Mr. E. P. Brock commented on their architecture, and Dr. Carpenter, J.P., read an exhaustive paper on the "Etymology of Croydon." A strong feeling was expressed by the archaeologists on the preservation of the ancient Archiepiscopal Palace—a feeling which was further seconded by Mr. Leveson-Gower, the vicar of Croydon, and several others.—The monuments in the parish church to Archbishops Warham and Sheldon, which suffered so much in the fire of 1867, were also examined, and it is believed these effigies will shortly be repaired.

Essex Field Club.—Oct. 25th.—Professor Boulger (the president) occupied the chair.—Mr. Worthington G. Smith exhibited a collection of twelve palaeolithic implements from India.—Mr. W. Cole exhibited, on behalf of Mr. James English, a curiously-formed neolithic implement found at Loughton.—A paper was read, prepared by Mr. English, entitled "Entomological notes taken from an old pocket-book."—Mr. W. H. Smith read a highly-interesting paper on "River-drift man in South-west Essex."

Hull Literary Club.—September 20th.—A large number of members had a trip into Holderness. The ancient church of St. Germain, Winestead, was first visited. The vicar (the Rev. Mr. Mellish) received the party, and gave a short address on the Hilyard family, and pointed out the interesting monuments in the church, placed to their memory. He exhibited the old parish register, containing the entry of the baptism of the patriot, Andrew Marvell, who was born at Winestead Old Hall. The Rev. J. R. Boyle (of Newcastle-on-Tyne) directed attention to the architecture of the church.—Patrington was next visited. Here Mr. T. Tindall Wildridge conducted the party over the church. We have no account of the earlier structure or structures which, under the patronage of the "Saint of the Shamrock," existed at Patrington. The tower, the landmark of the district for centuries, rouses afar off the curiosity and admiration of the student. Elegant in design, it affords little for comment except that its flying buttresses and encircling

arcade have passed almost into a canon of architectural law. The rest of the church offers more of what may be termed the human interest of decorative work, being exceedingly rich in emblematic and caricature representations. The western part of the nave of the church seems to be of earlier date than the choir. The large early Perpendicular window of the east end is the only piece in the church of work not of the Decorated style. Part of the old Decorated window remains, with an inserted carving of the Virgin and Child, and angels with shields. Over this single east window, as over the windows of the transept and the west end, small square recesses will be noticed. These are connected with a provision for quickly gaining access to these openings from the interior. Fine windows of flowing tracery, separated into bays by buttresses, surmounted by pinnacles, the pinnacles of the nave and transept shorter and plainer than those of the choir. Two entrances on this side—a low doorway in the centre of the transept end, and a porch near the west end. Over the slab-roofed doorway of the transept is a small figure of our Lord in the act of blessing (in the Latin form of benediction). In the north-west corner of the transept is seen the turret-roof of the wood stairs; it has access both inside and outside of the church, while a similar turret on the south side has only access from the interior. This on the north side is the present and only way to the bell chamber. The plain little niches on both sides of the transept are noteworthy, as also the higher elevation of the transept walls as compared with those of the nave and choir; the corners fit ungracefully. The east side of the transept has three bays, while the west side has only two, the space being occupied on each side of the church by the nave aisles. The north porch has inside two rib-arches, resting upon floral corbel brackets, of fine character. At the sides of the doorway are the heads of a king and queen, apparently Edward III. and his Queen. The west window probably shows the ancient character of the east window. Heads of a king and queen at each side; also curious figures of fiends. There is no west door. The west looks upon land which was anciently church property, and yet bears the name of "Bishop's Close." The south side has a porch immediately opposite that of the north side. It is plainer, and has over it a Parvis chamber with a window and an unglazed side slit. Here, in the seventeenth century, the town's records of Patrington were kept. The windows of the north transept are different from those of the south; in the centre is a rose window, now filled with cement. On the east side of the transept will be observed the projecting apse of the Lady Chapel. The gargoyles everywhere are good. The interior of Patrington Church is in an extremely unfinished state. Both the nave and the two wings of the transept have centre and side aisles, the side aisles of the transept being a specially rare feature. One aisle only of the whole church has been completed. This is the south transept aisle, consisting mainly of the beautiful apsidal Lady Chapel, with its three niches and recess for a retable or altar-piece. Here is a fragment of the original stained glass. The position of the rood-screen and its access are particularly noteworthy. The east window, like the west, is half blocked up—

probably at some time when the floor of the church was raised to place it on the more equal level with the overcrowded churchyard. The ceiling arches, as observed, are throughout (excepting near the Lady Chapel) unfinished; building operations have been suspended where the arches have reached everywhere the height of about three feet. The choir, which has traces of later handling than the rest of the church, and, in addition, has been comparatively recently restored, contains a fine sedilia, the usual three canopied stone seats for the celebrant of mass and his assistants. This is, as always, on the south side. On the north side, immediately opposite, is the far-famed Easter sepulchre—one of the comparatively few in England. Here on Maunday Thursday the Host was laid, as typical of the dead body of our Lord; or sometimes a crucifix or effigy, which was taken out on Easter morning with great rejoicing to signify the Resurrection. The custom came to an end on account of actual personation of our Lord, to add to the attractive nature of what at best is a spectacle. Armed men surrounded the sepulchres during Easter-eve, in token of the watching of the Roman soldiers; upon the Patrington sepulchre we see three soldiers, in fourteenth-century armour, not watching, but sleeping. In the unfinished wooden ceiling of the transept are numerous stone heads, which are almost classic in a certain noble massiveness of character. The early pews are carved: their date appears to be in some cases the same as that of the pulpit—1612.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Lord Beaconsfield's Description of an Eighteenth-Century Dinner in "Venetia."—A distinguished amateur in gastronomy has directed my attention to a remarkable eighteenth-century dinner described in the fourth chapter of Lord Beaconsfield's delightful romance *Venetia*, and is anxious to know whether the dishes enumerated are really "historical" in a culinary sense, or whether the accomplished novelist allowed his fancy to run riot in picturing a Sunday dinner at an English country house about 1768. "Before him (the Rev. Dr. Masham) still scowled in death the countenance of a huge roast pike, flanked on one side by a leg of mutton *à la daube*, and on the other by the tempting delicacies of bombarded veal. To these succeeded that masterpiece of the culinary art, a grand battalia pie, in which the bodies of chickens, pigeons, and rabbits, were embalmed in spices, cocks' combs, and savoury balls, and well bedewed with one of those rich sauces of claret, anchovy, and sweet herbs, in which our great-grandfathers delighted, and which was technically termed a Lear. But the grand essay of skill was the cover of this pastry, whereon the curious cook had contrived to represent all the once-living forms that were now entombed in that gorgeous sepulchre." There is no case of fancy running riot here. Chapter and

verse could be given from old cookery books for all the dainty dishes described in *Venetia*. But of the "historical" accuracy of the grand battalia pie, a curious proof occurs in that delightful book, *The Life of William Hutton, and the History of the Hutton Family*. In his biography of his maternal grandmother W. H. relates:—"She was a careful yet liberal housekeeper, and well skilled in cookery, pastry, and confectionery. I have heard of a pie she raised in the form of a goose trussed for the spit; the real goose was boned; a duck was boned and laid within it; a fowl was boned and laid within the duck; a boned partridge within the fowl; and a boned pigeon within the partridge. The whole having been properly seasoned, the interstices were filled with rich gravy; and I have had pieces of writing paper, cut in various figures throughout, that were the patterns by which she made her Florentines." There is nothing new under the sun; and analogues of the "great battalia pie" were plentiful in Roman cookery. See the banquet scene in Professor Becker's *Gallus*, and some very curious passages in Soyer's *Pantheon*.—From G. A. S. in *Illustrated News* of March 15th, 1884. The "great battalia pie" is the great raised game pie known as the Yorkshire pie.—RICHARD S. FERGUSON.

Curious Style of the Language of Official Documents.—Readers of official documents would not be prepared to find an objection to an important commercial treaty founded upon the too poetical language employed in the drafting; yet such was the case with reference to the "Projet de Traité définitif envoyé par le cour de Londres." The French ministers objected to the poetical language of the preamble, which, in their opinion, recalls the line of Corneille (*Rodogune*, act I., sc. 1.), "Enfin ce jour pompeux cet heureux jour nous luit," a style which they consider altogether out of keeping with the matter in hand.—See *Third Report Hist. MSS. Com.*, p. 132.

Berwickshire Dialect.—The most marked peculiarity in the dialect of Berwickshire is in the pronunciation of the *ch*, which is usually softened into *sh*, as a *shire* for a chair. Yet the sound of *sh* is sometimes hardened by the prefixion of a *t*, as *tshop* for shop, *tchaise* for chaise. In male sheep the ram is called *tup*; and tup lamb, ewe hog, gimmer and ewe express their different ages. Of black cattle, a young ox and heifer are usually named *steer* and *stirk*; the latter is often called a *quay*, or *quey*. A young gelding is often called a *staig*, and a stallion is sometimes called a *cussor*. Formerly, in speaking to their horses, carters employed *hap* and *wind* in ordering them to either side, now mostly *high-wo* and *jee*; and in calling to stop used the incommunicable sound of *prroo*, now *wo* or *woy*. In calling a cow to be milked, *hove hove*, often repeated, is the ordinary expression; anciently in the Lowlands this was *prrutchy*, and *prrutchy lady*. A ridge of land, and the furrow, are called respectively *rig* and *fur*; and an oblique furrow for carrying off surface-water is a *gaw-fur*. A horse-collar is a *brecham*; a back-hand is a *rig-woody*; horse trees for ploughs and harrows, *swingie trees*. Oats are *aits* and *yits*; barley, *bear*; big is *rough-bear*; peas, *pis*. A set of farm buildings is called a *stead*, or *steadin*; the strawyard is the *courtin*; and sheds

are named *hemmels*. The cowhouse is called *byre*; and the farmhouse is often named the *ha*, or hall.—*General View of the Agriculture of Berwick*, by R. Kerr (1813), pp. 502-3.



Antiquarian News.

A series of excavations have been carried out at intervals during the last twelvemonths on the site of an old Roman castle, near Rottenburg, in the Black Forest. During the latest operations some extensive remains without the lines of the castle have been discovered, all the ground plan and foundations being perfectly preserved. Among them is a hypocaustum, or subterranean calefactory, which is in a state of completeness almost unprecedented.

In the course of carrying out large dredging and other works for the improvement of the Trent navigation, which connects Hull, Grimsby, and Goole by water with Birmingham and the Midland Canal system, a most interesting discovery has been made. The works in progress between the villages of Collingham and Cromwell, north of Newark, include a large amount of dredging, and it was during this operation that the workmen came across the pier of an old wooden bridge. About forty feet or so closer to the north bank another of similar appearance was found, and it is presumed there are six or seven of these piers forming the whole bridge. Mr. Rolfe, C.E., the engineer-in-chief, had the two piers which obstructed the navigable channel blown up with dynamite. A portion of the wood and stonework was afterwards recovered, and excavations are to be made with a view to finding and preserving another of the remaining piers. From observations made previous to the blasting, it appeared that the foundations were formed of wood set in ancaster, or a somewhat similar stone; the oak walings and balks were black and hard, but mostly in good condition; the mortar was still quite hard and adhesive; the walings were tied across through a large centre balk by tie-pieces of wood, having octagonal heads, through which wedges had evidently been driven to keep the structure together. There is room for doubt whether any similar structure of wood now remains in such complete preservation, although in Rome itself some traces of a wooden bridge, supposed to be either the Pons Æmilii or the Pons Sublicius, have been seen in the Tiber, but they do not appear to have been distinctly recognisable.

The late Lord Mayor has written to the *Daily Telegraph*, stating that his distinguished friend, Sir John Lubbock, Bart, M.P., long before he succeeded in protecting ancient monuments as a legislator, personally secured the preservation of Avebury, Wiltshire. Many years ago the property came into the market, and to prevent its falling into the hands of those who would not respect such interesting remains, Sir John Lubbock purchased it, and thus showed his practical interest in the subject with which his name is identified.

The *Athenæum* states that Mr. James Greenstreet has discovered a document which throws light upon the internal history of the stage in London at and shortly before the time of Shakespeare's death. It concerns disputes about money matters between Thomas Greene's widow and others forming the company of Royal Players ("of the late Queene's Majestie, Queene Anne"), who, it says, had recently removed from the Red Bull, Clerkenwell, to the Cockpit, Drury Lane.

A letter purporting to give a description of an eye-witness of the execution of Queen Mary will be published at the end of the present year. It has been found in a manuscript book among the papers of Lord Eliock, the judge who died in 1793. The book is all written in one hand, apparently in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the account of the execution is a copy of a letter sent by special desire. Lord Eliock's father managed the affairs of the Duke of Perth and of other families devoted to the Stuart cause, and it is conjectured that the document now discovered is a copy of a letter written by a member of one of them.

A remarkable relic of James Ward, R.A., has been picked up at an old bookstall by Mr. Nicholls, of the British Museum. It is an octavo volume of 156 pages, including a collection of sacred songs written from beginning to end in a quaint system of shorthand, which, unknown to the Shorthand Society, may have been invented by Ward.

The parish church of St. Andrew, Aveton Gifford, is undoubtedly one of the most interesting, as it certainly is one of the oldest, of our South Devon churches. Walter de Stapledon was rector of this very church ere he became Bishop of Exon's See in A.D. 1307. The church was generally restored under the direction of Mr. Elliott, architect, of Plymouth, in 1869; until then the remains of a pair of fine old carved oak Parclose screens occupied the two most eastward bays of the south arcade in the chancel. These were so sadly decayed, however, that they were removed, and have ever since been stowed away in the depths of the rectory cellar. It is very much to the credit of the vicar that he has resolved to have these most interesting specimens of mediæval art workmanship carefully renovated, and once again placed *in situ*. The two screens will each be about twelve feet long and about the same height. The old work exhibits much delicate manipulation of an unusually clever character. It is all late fifteenth-century handiwork, the carving is crisp and vigorous, and although very much decayed is by no means past making good.

The Museum of Science and Art at Edinburgh has recently acquired by purchase a collection of rubbings of English monumental brasses, about five hundred in number, which was formed by the late Miss Anne Newell Hill, of Southampton.

The church of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey has been reopened after restoration. The original church, destroyed by the Great Fire in 1666, had been previously rebuilt in 1377, and was again completely re-edified by Sir C. Wren in 1677. Although his graceful fancy is apparent in the tower, with its quaint steeple, the

interior can scarcely be described as a favourable specimen of the renowned master's skill. The body of the church is a plain parallelogram without aisles, with a flat plaster ceiling divided into fifteen panels by plaster trabsiations, and lighted by five large circular-headed windows on the north side, two small ones at the south-west, and three in the east, the centre one being circular. The interior was singularly flat and uninteresting, the fittings of carved oak being almost its only feature of beauty.

The *Chicago Tribune* says there is on exhibition at the jewellery store of Giles Brothers, at the corner of State and Washington Streets, a massive tankard of silver that once belonged to John Bunyan, who wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It is of solid metal, weighing over twenty-two ounces avoirdupois, and holds more than a quart. The handle is of solid silver, and the lid opens on a hinge. On the front of the vessel is engraved in capitals interlaced, "The Pilgrim's Progress," and on the bottom, in a circle of script, "The Gift of Nathaniel Ponder to Elizabeth, Wife of John Bunyan, of Bedford." The date, "1671," is also engraved on the bottom. The workmanship is quaint and rare. The history of the tankard is a curious one. At the death of John Bunyan it was given to the Rev. Andrew Gifford, pastor of the Baptist Church in Bedford, who used it during his lifetime as a piece of communion plate. When the latter died it fell into the hands of his heirs, and they, becoming very poor, pawned it at the shop of a London broker. It was finally redeemed by Isaac Maynard, of Brandon Street, Walworth, London, who, when he died, left it to his wife. By her it was willed to Mrs. Charlotte M. Bach, and from Mrs. Bach it was bought by a gentleman of Chicago, who possesses the fullest documentary proof of its authenticity.

An auction of more than usual interest took place a short time ago at Wallasey. The "Old Cheshire Cheese Inn" was the scene of the same, the ancient portion of which has been in existence for more than 800 years. It now has been closed for extensive alterations, the old portion having become so defective as to warrant this being done. The inn is one of the old-fashioned thatched houses, with its spacious kitchen and fireplace, and its massive beams of "heart of oak," so emblematical of the stoutness of the brave old defenders of this our tight little island. It is stated to be the oldest licensed house in Cheshire, and is situated within a stone's throw of Wallasey church. Up to the present time the bedchamber, in which it is said Kings Charles II. and William III. slept, is in a comparatively good state of preservation. The room in which King William slept was at that time approached by a recess in the wall near the fireplace, but recently a staircase has been made to it. It is said that the king's troops, previous to their embarkation for Ireland from Wallasey Leasowes, were encamped on the meadows adjacent to the inn. This is corroborated by the annals of "Gore's Directory," which state that in the year 1690 (the date of the king's occupation of the hostelry), King William was accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Portland, Scarborough, Manchester, and others. They left London on the 4th June in that

year, visited Liverpool on the 11th, embarked on the army, then encamped on Leasowes, and on the 14th of the same month arrived at Carrickfergus in Ireland.

The parish church of Bishop's Cannings has been restored. The church, which was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, is a cruciform building consisting of a nave of four bays, with north and south aisles, and south porch with room over the latter; north and south transepts of two bays each, a very deep chancel, and vestry, having over it a priest's room reached by a very narrow winding staircase. The original building is of thirteenth-century construction, and the noble tower of that date is carried on massive piers at the crossing, and is surmounted by a stone spire of a later (fifteenth-century) date, 135 feet high from the ground to the top of the cross. From the south transept a chantry chapel (now known as the Ernle chapel) projects eastwards, and there are three other recessed chapels, all with richly-moulded arches, coeval with the main building. The church appears to have been commenced at the end of the twelfth century, and completed to the full present dimensions (excepting as regards height) by the latter part of the next century. The aisles were built, the clerestory raised, and a new roof constructed to the nave in the fifteenth century, a modern roof being substituted for the latter in the year 1670. The chancel, vestry, and porch are finely vaulted in stone. There are the remains of the original "stoups" at three doorways—the one at the north entrance being perfect—and other archaeological features of great interest. The restoration has been carried out on strictly conservative lines. No sound stone has been interfered with nor any surface injured. There were found traces of the ancient clerestory windows, the door leading to an outside staircase to the rood loft, with traces of a gallery over the end of the aisle, and the clearing of the doorway itself; the uncovering of a doorway opening from the belfry into the end of the wall of nave, close to the roof; and, most interesting of all, the discovery of a "low window" at the west end of the north aisle, with a square orifice in the wall high overhead, the latter supposed to have been used for the "reserved host," and the former, the window to which the lepers came to receive the sacrament at the hands of the priest inside. Another low window was found on the south side of the chancel, and a curious niche in the wall of the vestry. The original weathercock, which was discovered in the vicarage garden many years ago, has been re-gilded and restored to its place on the cross surmounting the spire. Another interesting fact, as fixing the date of the later portion of the building, was the discovery of oyster shells embedded in the mortar; these are distinctly visible in many places in the joints of the west wall and the tower, and are a sure indication of fifteenth-century work.

Shirwell church, dedicated to St. Peter, is being restored. It possesses some interesting features. Probably there was a double aisle to the original church, with Early English arches, as at Atherington, of local stone. Above the first floor and on the north side of the tower may be seen the remains of a very ancient outer oak doorway, which undoubtedly formed

the only means of ingress and exit to the belfry, as there is no *inner* stairway leading up, and the present means of ascent is a perpendicular ladder placed in a corner. The tower, which contains six good bells, has, perhaps, seen as many changes as any part of the church. No doubt it was once simply a turret, in which the vesper bell was hung, and finished off with a saddle-backed roof. At that time the tiny church nestled against its east and north sides. Clearly the upper portion above the first floor was built long after the tower part; then, when the south aisle was built, the tower was raised and battlemented the same as the aisle. Another curious and very striking point is that the vestry before spoken of contained an upper chamber. Although blocked up when the church was taken in hand, many were aware of this upper room, which, on examination, was found to have been used at some distant date. It is about twelve feet square, and lit with one narrow window, in the north side, and was, perhaps, used as a sleeping chamber for the recluse or priest, or whoever was its occupant.

After restoration the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, Staverton, has been reopened. The present church consists of a fine and lofty tower, with a nave, north aisle, and chancel, erected probably about 1350—1370.

The *Athenaum* states that Lord Archibald Campbell will publish next January his *Records of Argyll*. It will be a quarto, and will be adorned with eighteen etchings of pictures, interiors, and external views of castles, weapons, etc., in Argyllshire. It contains folk-lore tales, traditionary tales, and historical notes of Argyllshire.

The church of Birtley, North Tynedale, has been reopened recently after restoration. The whole building, consisting of a well-proportioned nave and chancel, has, it is said, been very carefully repaired and restored, so as to retain the ancient characteristics, either of the original Early Norman work, dating from A.D. 1100 or even before it, or of the later Early English alterations, several traces of which remained. The church has suffered from partial destructions through Scottish raids in mediæval times, and it has undergone the debased renovation of a past generation in modern days, with its square sashed windows and house-chimney at the east gable, giving it a barn-like aspect. Its Early Norman chancel arch, with the hatchet-wrought voussoirs, is now restored, all the plaster having been removed from the walls. The church is thought to have been erected in the days of William Rufus or Henry Beauclerc, probably by the great family of the De Umfrevilles, Lords of Prudhoe, the ruins of whose ancient castle still stand in the vicarage garden.

It is rumoured that Lord Dysart contemplates restoring the fine old mansion which was erected by Sir Thomas Vavasour in the early part of the seventeenth century. The first Countess of Dysart made considerable alterations and additions to Ham House, and many curious old specimens of furniture once belonging to the Countess are still preserved there.

A very interesting discovery was made a short time ago by the workmen engaged on the sewerage operations now being carried out at the top of Phoenix Bank, Drayton. At a depth of between ten and twelve feet from the surface, they came upon a flight of steps, which ran from Great Hales Street, near the corner of Ryland House, diagonally in the direction of the steps leading into the Grammar School and the churchyard. The whole of the ground in the immediate neighbourhood is "made," thus pointing to the fact that at some time or other a kind of dingle existed at this place. It is extremely probable that at one time the hill on which the church is built extended further east than it does at the present time, and sloped down towards the situation of the recently discovered steps. The steps would lead out of the dingle on to the pathway down the side of the hill in the direction of the river, in the same way as those which now lead up out of the Drumble. The dingle seems to have been filled up with ashes, bones of animals, and other *débris*, and originally was, no doubt, on the same level as what is known as "The Hollow" in Great Hales Street. There is no evidence as to when the filling-in process took place, but it is likely it was at the time when Sir Rowland Hill was lord of the manor—i.e., in the reign of Queen Mary. A fine boulder was unearthed near to the steps.

The Library Committee of the Corporation of London have in the press a *priceis* of letters addressed by the Mayor, etc., of London to various municipalities at home and abroad, *temp.* Edward III.

The Council of the Essex Field Club has resolved to attempt a thorough investigation of the Deneholes in Hangman's Wood, Little Thurrock, and those at East Tilbury and near Purfleet, and in other parts of Essex.

The skeleton of an Irish elk is said to have been found at the bottom of a pond on the farm of a man named Edward Mara, near Fethard, county Tipperary. The farmer refused a price for the find, which he wished to send to the British Museum.

Saltwood Castle, the restoration of which has now been completed, was, a few days since, thrown open for inspection.

A curious dispute is now going on between the executors of the late rector of Dunstable and Canon Macaulay, the present rector, with regard to the disappearance from the town of an ancient relic known as the "Fayrey Pall," an article of great intrinsic value. The pall was the gift of Henry Fayrey and Agnes, his wife, to a house of Friars of the Brotherhood of St. John the Baptist, which existed at Dunstable during the sixteenth century. The late rector carried out certain improvements at the Old Priory Church, relying upon promises of support that were never realized. On this ground chiefly the family look upon the pall as the deceased gentleman's own property, whereas the parish people allege that, inasmuch as the article has been used for public purposes so many years, whoever appropriates it as his own is guilty of sacrilege.

A tunnel, measuring about 5,000 feet in length, and constructed at least nine centuries before the

Christian era, has just been discovered by the Governor of the island of Samos. Herodotus mentions this tunnel, which served for providing the old seaport with drinking water.

A part of the old city moat at Hereford has been discovered during the progress of the excavations for the foundation of some new offices now being erected.

The first of what will undoubtedly prove a most interesting series of lake dwellings has recently been brought to light in Yorkshire. The site of these dwellings is in the low levels of Holderness, on the eastern coast of that great county. One of these is on the farm of Mr. Thomas Boynton, at Ulrome.

Among the new books of antiquarian interest which are now in progress may be mentioned *The History of the Church of Manchester*, by the Rev. E. Letts; *A History of Accrington*, by the Rev. J. R. Boyle; *Quaint Old Norwich*, by Edw. P. Willins. This latter book especially promises to be very good, as it will contain illustrations from pen-and-ink sketches.

Our next issue will contain, *inter alia*, articles by Mr. Wheatley on "The Story of Johnson's Dictionary;" Mr. W. C. Hazlitt on "Venice before the Stones;" Mr. J. J. Foster on "The Birthplace of John Evelyn." This latter will be illustrated by a facsimile drawing from one made by the celebrated diarist.



Correspondence.

PROPERTY AT KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES, A.D. 1342-8.

The subjoined items from Wake of Derby's Catalogue, No. 89, August 1884, are curious, more especially as the records for this period are unusually scanty. The Edward Toly mentioned below was, doubtless, related to John Toly, who sat as one of the burgesses for the town in the fifth parliament of Edward II. and the twenty-sixth of Edward III. (Brayley and Britton, iii., 21), and who can say that he may not have been the godfather of Tooley Street? Of Walter de Combe or Cumbe I know nothing further. A John de Combe was Prior of Reigate from 1397 to 1415 (Brayley and Britton, iv., 232).

Barnes Common, W. CAREW HAZLITT.
August 29th, 1884.

Surrey, Kingston. Charter relating to Property at Kingston from Walter de Cumbe to Peter the Potter ("Petrus le Poter") of Kyngeston for 60s. at John Atte Brug's. "Given on the first Monday before the feast of St. Luke, 16 of Edward 3," A.D. 1342. Witnesses John Scot, Peter Baldewyn, Edw^d. Toly, Hugh Bakere, John Clerk, and others, 9s. 6d.

Do. Kyngeston. Feoffment of Property at Kingston from Walter de Cumbe to Peter Poter of Kyngeston, for 40s. "Given at Kyngeston, on Wednesday, the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, 19 of Edw^d. 3," A.D. 1345.

Witnessed by John Scot, John de Ocstede, Hugh Baker, Roger Farndon, Simon the Wodewesone, Hugh Postel, John Clerk, and others, Portion of Seal, 9s. 6d.

Do. "Kyngeston." Feoffment of Land from Walter de Cumbe to Peter Chaungere, for 50s., a house, &c., now in the occupation of John atte Brug, adjoining the Borough in Middlefurlong. "Given at Kingston the 1st Wednesday after the feast of St. Lucia the virgin, 22 of Edward 3. A.D. 1348. Witnessed by John de Ocstede, Hugh Bakere, Roger Farndon, Hugh Postel, John Clerk, and others. Part of Seal remains. 12s.

SILCHESTER—CALLEVA.

(*Ante*, viii., 39, 85, 134; x., 86, 183.)

The *Caer Segont* (*Segont* not *Segout*) of the Britons is undoubtedly Segontium, the present Carnarvon. Foundations of a large Roman settlement have been found there, as well as numerous inscriptions and coins. The names of Constans, Helena, and Constantine are recorded in various localities in the district, and most of the incidents mentioned in the article in your issue are stated to have occurred at Segontium.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Athenæum, Liverpool.

DUPLICATE BOOKS IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

May I make a suggestion that the many duplicates in the British Museum Library might be utilized by the trustees either for exchange or sale? I only mean of course those whose departure from the Library would not be of great loss, and whose acquisition by other libraries, say the Bodleian, would be of great use. Surely some plan of exchange between the great libraries might be established. G. B. LEATHOM.

QUEEN ANNE'S PORTRAITS BY "KNELLER."

[*Ante*, ix., 191, 239, 287.]

I am much indebted to Mr. Bullard and to Mr. Kelly, and I beg to thank them very heartily for their information in the matter of Queen Anne's Portraits by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and in the matter of John Smith, the engraver. When my first letter on the subject appeared in *THE ANTIQUARY* (April last) I ought perhaps to have stated that I possessed a portrait of Queen Anne by Kneller, exactly as I described. But I was anxious to find out, if possible, whether other bust portraits of the Queen by Kneller were in existence. As yet, I have not heard of one. I have seen the portrait at Rochester Guildhall, which is full length, the Queen holding the sceptre in the right hand, and in her left the orb, which rests against the hip, exactly as stated by Mr. Kelly in describing the three-quarter length portrait in his possession. The portrait I possess, being only a bust, from the waist upwards, does not show the arms and hands. Compared with the Rochester portrait, I think I may say that mine appears somewhat superior

in execution. Now for John Smith, the engraver. He and Kneller seem to have been companions in art, each in his own particular sphere, Kneller even painting his friend John Smith's portrait. John Smith produced a mezzotint engraving, 14 inches \times 10½ inches, of the Queen from a painting by Kneller, and I have a copy of this engraving in my possession. The inscription on the engraving runs thus—"Serenissima et Potentissima Anna D. G. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regina &c. Inaugurata XXIII die Aprilis. Anno 1702." In the left-hand corner is the following—"G. Kneller S.R. Imp. et Angl. Eques. aur. pinx." In the centre of the base is "J. Smith fecit," and in the right corner there is the following—"Sold by J. Smith at ye Lyon and Crown in Russell Street, Covent Garden." This engraving is almost a perfect *facsimile* of the painting by Kneller of the Queen which I possess. Alas! there is one exception in the engraving, and it is this. By some strange freak of the engraver, or carelessness in details (I can call it nothing else), the "George" which the Queen is wearing shows St. George with a curved sword or scimitar in his right hand instead of the spear, which is raised in the act of striking the dragon. I cannot think for one moment that Kneller ever painted the "George" with the Saint holding a sword, but that in the case of this engraving it is the engraver who is at fault.

In the Rochester portraits of the Queen and William III., and in the portraits of William III. and Mary at Hampton Court, all by Kneller, St. George is shown holding the spear. I have never yet seen the "George" with the sword in place of the spear in pictures painted by Kneller.

I also possess a finely-executed mezzotint portrait, 14 inches \times 10½, of John Smith, engraved by himself from his portrait by Kneller. He appears holding in his left hand a good-sized portrait of his friend Kneller.

This is held as a partly unrolled picture, and being slightly inclined shows the right shoulder and chest and the long sweeping curls of Sir Godfrey's hair or wig, his face, and particularly his eyes, beaming with apparent good humour. An inscription on the base of the picture reads "Johannes Smith." In the left-hand corner there is "G. Kneller pinx., 1696," and in the right-hand corner "J. Smith fecit, 1716." Can anyone tell me aught of the existence, at the present time, of this original portrait of John Smith, by Kneller?

My portrait of Queen Anne has been known in my family, on my father's side, for about 120 years; but whether it came into the family in any way from John Smith the engraver, or whether he was a relative at all, I am unable to say.

As a matter of antiquarian interest I have looked through the very carefully kept Registers of St. Paul's, Covent Garden (in which parish all but about six or seven houses, I believe, of Russell Street are situated), from 1719 to 1728, and seen all the wills of the John Smiths in Somerset House, which were proved in London and Middlesex from 1720 to 1728, but can find nothing of John Smith, Engraver. Since Mr. Kelly so kindly gave me the information which he did, I have seen the following in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, 1842, Vol. XXII. (Chas. Knight & Co., Lud-

gate Street):—"John Smith, a contemporary of Kneller, after whom he engraved many portraits, was by far the best mezzotinto engraver of his time. His works are very numerous, and comprise not only portraits, but historical and miscellaneous subjects also. The *Biog. Univ.* gives 1654 as the date of his birth, and 1719 as that of his death. Several other works state that he died in 1720. There are prints, however, with his name, bearing date 1721. From Dallaway's edition of Vertue's *Catalogue of Engravers*, it would appear that there were two engravers of this name, father and son; but this statement rests, so far as we know, on no other authority. A note in the work referred to mentions 574 engravings by these artists. Of the more eminent John Smith (if there were really two) there is a portrait by Kneller."

I should indeed be thankful to receive further information on the foregoing subject.

H. W. SMITH.

Belvedere, Kent.

CLIFTON ANTIQUARIAN CLUB.

[*Ante*, pp. 33, 86, 230.]

I must beg to say a word in reply to Mr. Hudd's letter in your November number respecting the St. Loe monument in Chew Magna Church.

Rutter must not be quoted as an authority; his book was published in 1829, and he generally copies his antiquarian notices from Collinson.

Now with respect to the latter author, too much reliance must not be placed upon his descriptions of monuments, several of which, incorrectly given, have come under my own knowledge. After perusing Mr. Hudd's letter, I wrote at once to my friend, Sir Edward Strachey, to whom the St. Loe chapel belongs, and who lived at Sutton Court in his early youth, and must have been familiar with the monument in question for a great many years. In his reply Sir Edward says, "The legs of Sir John St. Loe's effigy have been straight ever since I can recollect, nor have I ever heard of any repair or alteration of them. I had new hands and nose put by one of the carvers employed on your house (about twenty years ago), as they had been broken off. I was at Chew after I got your letter, and made a careful examination of the monument yesterday. The legs are of the same stone (apparently fine Caen) as the rest of the effigy; indeed, they seem to be one piece with the body, though the carving is less injured on them than on the body. If the legs were ever renewed, so must the lion at the feet have been, as they plainly go together, and the feet of crossed legs could not have rested on the existing lion. I should say it is far more probable that Collinson, who is (as you say) oftentimes inaccurate, made a mistake. John Strachey's *History of Somerset* was ready for printing in 1736 (Collinson's *History* was published in 1791). In Strachey's MS. account of Chew Magna (printed in the *Archæological Society's Transactions* for 1867) he describes the monument in detail, but says nothing about crossed legs." His words are, "Sir John lies in armour, his headpiece under his head, a Lyon at his feet, a broad collar of S S round his neck," etc. In his account of the

Hautville effigy he says, "It is crossed legged." I think it will be allowed that the balance of evidence is in favour of the opinion that the present are the original legs of the effigy of Sir John St. Loe. Collinson says his legs were crossed to denote his having been at Jerusalem, although the last crusade was in 1270, nearly two hundred years before his time!

Boutell remarks that "military effigies of our own country are, until about 1320, very generally represented with the legs crossed—." "With the disuse of mail armour, the crossed-legged attitude ceased to be employed."

Mr. Pope has very obligingly sent me what has been called a sketch of the "handsome hammered iron screen," which formerly surrounded the Baber monument; but I find it represents the finial only, which was at the corner of the railing, and was rather good, but, with this exception, I must hold to my former opinion as to the want of beauty and interest of the railing.

WM. ADLAM.

Larkstone, Ilfracombe,
Oct. 11th, 1884.

ON THE NAME OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the interesting discussions in *THE ANTIQUARY* on the origin and constitution of the House of Lords, the origin of its name does not appear to have been considered. This is, however, an extremely important point, in its bearing on the historical development of the institution itself.

The question arises, whether there is any trace of the employment of that name before the House of Commons came into existence. It seems on the face of it highly improbable, and, indeed, scarcely possible, that it should have been so. The name of the "House of Lords" is contrasted with the name of the "House of Commons"; and the existence of the two names proves the existence also of the two Houses. If, therefore, they always bore these names, they must always have been distinct institutions; and this fact would show, in corroboration of the other evidence on the subject, that the members of the two institutions never sat and voted together as one body.

The Witena-gemot was a single chamber, and the Great Council which succeeded it was likewise a single chamber; but when the House of Commons came into existence, there were two chambers, one of which was the House of Lords. It is obvious that even if the House of Lords, as regards its constitution, was the successor of the Great Council, it must have been widely different from that Council as regards its powers and position, when, instead of being the sole authority, it was only one of two co-ordinate authorities.

Whatever may have been the motives which prevented the union of the three Estates of the Realm in one body, the practical effect was to establish and maintain the separate action of two distinct authorities, one of which comprised two of those Estates,—the Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal,—while the other consisted of the third Estate,—the Commons.

It may further be asked whether the use of the

word House instead of Chamber does not imply that the two bodies met from the first in different buildings, and not merely in different apartments of the same building. Mr. Wheatley, in his valuable article on the "Place of Meeting of the House of Lords," does not touch this point, because he was not considering the place of meeting of the House of Commons (*ante*, p. 41). If the two bodies had met in different rooms in the same building, the designation of House would scarcely have been appropriate, and the word Chamber would probably have been adopted; but it may perhaps be admitted that House would have been a suitable expression for each body if the meetings had been held in the same building—such, for instance, as Westminster Hall—on different days or at different times.

If the three Estates of the Realm were now to be combined for common and united action as one body, this would be simply a reversion to the original state of things—the state of things that existed in the days of the Great Council and of the Witena-gemot.

October, 1884.

D. P. F.

PONIATOWSKI GEMS.

(x. 39.)

I am surprised that no reader of *THE ANTIQUARY* has come forward as yet, to answer the questions asked by Mr. Barclay, because the history of the Poniatowski gems is a commonplace in the history of precious stones. Prince Poniatowski (who died at Florence, in 1833) inherited from his uncle Stanislaus, the last King of Poland, a collection of about 154 true antique gems. This number was raised to about 3,000 by the foisting in among the true gems of a series of forgeries. These forgeries were masterpieces of skill, engraved by the best Roman artists upon stones of fine quality. When, however, the collection was sold in London, in 1839, the gems realized small sums. The head of Io, stated to have been engraved by Dioscorides, which a few years before was valued at £1,000, sold for £17. This was greatly below its real value, and the late Dr. Billing made some sensible remarks, in his valuable *Science of Gems* (1875), on this depreciation in value. "A beautiful intaglio of Pichler's, with a Greek name of an ancient artist forged upon it, which was originally made for Poniatowski for perhaps twenty or thirty pounds, will not now fetch more than as many shillings, because it is not really antique; though a work of the same Pichler, genuine, with his name on it, will fetch, as it deserves, the price in pounds sterling, although no better than the other, which, though depreciated by the forged name, is quite as good, and if bought for its real merit, worth quite as much."

H. B. WHEATLEY.

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INDEX.



- Abertarff Relics, Sale of, 181.
Accounts of Henry VI., 191-196.
Acton Church, Nantwich, 270.
Adam (the Brothers), Architects and Builders of the Adelphi, 12-14, 99-102.
Addison (J.), Birthplace of, 27, 28.
Adelphi and its Site, 8-14, 99-102.
Adlam (Wm.) on Chew Magna Church, 86, 279.
Advertisements, Early, of Books, 226-227.
Æsculapius, The Miracles of, 259-263.
Agricultural Customs known by Field-names, 8.
Alnwick, Grave-cover discovered at, 80.
— Abbey, Discoveries of Stone Coffin at, 180.
Alston, Cumberland, 128.
America, Hazlitt Family in, 137-143.
— in 1737-87, 113-119.
— Old English Playing Cards in, 231.
American Antiquarian Reviewed, 29.
Amusements, London, in 1669, 63; 1730-35, 179; of Charles II., 226.
Ancient and Modern Britons Reviewed, 169-170.
Anglo-Norman Cookery, 247-249.
Anglo-Saxon Remains found at Woolstone, 36.
Animal Nicknames among Cornish People, 263.
Animals, Forest, in England, 21-24, 163-166, 255-258.
Anne (Q.), Portraits of, by Kneller, 277-278.
Anstey Castle, 35.
Anthropological Institute Meetings, 76.
Antiquaries, Society of, Meetings, 30, 76.
— Scotland, Society of, Meetings, 31-32.
Antoninus Pius, Bust of, in British Museum, 253-253.
Apician Cookery, 243-246.
Appley Castle, Siege, 49; Church, 51, 52.
Archæological (British) Association Meetings, 30, 75, 223-225, 272.
Archæological Institute Meetings, 30, 75, 173-174, 220.
Armagh, Wrought Iron Grille Work in, 173.
Arts, Society of, Foundation of, 101.
Ashton-under-Lyme in 1792, 92.
Asiatic Society Meetings, 30, 76.
Athens, Discovery of Ancient Temple, 36.
Auction (First) Sale of Books, 82.
Augustus, Portrait of, in British Museum, 253.
Auncel Weight, 267.
Aungerville Society Publications, Reviewed, 29.
Aurelius (Marcus), Bust of, in British Museum, 254.
Australian Tribes, Customs of, 76.
Avebury, St. James's Church at, 33.
— Purchase of, 274.
Aveton Gifford, Restoration of St. Andrew's Church at, 274.
Aylesbury Manor House, Demolition of, 131.
Ballad, Old Country, 95.
Banbury Natural History Society Meetings, 77, 128.
Barber (Rev. S.) on Deposit of Slag Iron, Nether Wasdale, Cumberland, 58.
Barclay (R.) on Poniakowski Gems, 39.
Bath Natural History Society Meetings, 33, 77, 223.
Bath, Roman Remains found at, 229.
Bayley, Note on Name of, 39.
Beadle's Staff of Scarborough Corporation, 21.
Beasts of Forest and Chase, 255, 258.
Beck (W.), *Gloves—their Annals and Associations*, Reviewed, 74, 75.
Beckhampton, Devizes, Ancient British Dwelling discovered at, 134.
Bedrooms, 185-190.
Bedsteads, Ancient, 185-190; First Use of Iron, 83.
Bent (J. T.) on London in 1669, 62-64; on a Journey to Manchester and Liverpool in 1792, 92-94.
Berkshire, Saxon Antiquities discovered in, 181.
Berlin Royal Library, Arabic Literature in, 229.
Berrington Church, 223.
Berwickshire Dialect, 273-274.
— Naturalists' Club Meetings, 80, 174, 272.
Biblical Archæology, Society of, Meetings, 31.
Bibliographer, Dr. Johnson considered as a, 237-238.
Bickington Church, Restoration of, 84.
Bills, Rejected Parliamentary, 24-26.
Birthplaces of Celebrated Men, 27-28, 69-70, 119-121, 161-163, 233-239.
Birtley Church, North Tynedale, Restoration of, 276.
Bishop's Cannings Parish Church, Restoration of, 275.
Bishopstowe, Library of Bishop Colenso at, Burnt, 228.
Black (W. G.) on Lanarkshire Folk-lore, 102-103.
"Black Jack," Note on, 182-183.
Blomfield, Rev. (J. C.), *History of Bicester*, Part II., Reviewed, 217-218.
Bohn (H. G.), Obituary of, 179-180.
Book Advertisements, Early, 226.
Books, First Sale of, by Auction, 82; Borrowed by Henry V., 226; Early, on Cookery, 198-202; Curses in, 83; Taxation of, 131.
Book-wo-m, Description of, 131.
Bottisham Church, Cambridgeshire, 176.
Boulder discovered at Phoenix Bank, Drayton, 276; with Rain-filled Cavities, used to Cure Diseases, 31.
Brailsford (Wm.), on the Lady Anne Clifford, 49-54; on some Ancient Trees, 94-99.
Brasses in Chipping Campden Church, 228; English Monumental at Edinburgh, 274; not in Haines' Manual, 39.
Bride Capture, Wales, 224.
Bridge, Old Wooden, Piers of, Discovered in the Trent, 274.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society Meetings, 130.
British Dwelling Pit, Discovered, 134.
British Museum, Griffin Relic in, 90; Duplicate Books in, 277; Report, 85; Roman Portraiture in, 250-255.
Britons, Ancient, Food of, 197.
Brought (C.), Memorial Window to, 36.
Bronze Stone, 135.
Brownalade, Opening of Barrow at, 223.
Bucks Archæological Society Meetings, 174.
Buddenschi (Dr. R.), *De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo*, Reviewed, 169.
Building Tradition, 104.
Bull Fights in London, 1669, 63.
Bunbury Church, Cheshire, 271.
Bunyan (John), Tankard formerly belonging to, 275.
Burghmote at Maidstone, 83.
Burroughs (P. P.), Note on a "Black Jack," 182-183.
Burwell Castle, Cambridgeshire, 177.
Calefactory, Subterranean, Discovered at Rottenburg, Black Forest, 274.
Calleva, Site of, 86-87, 183.
Cambrian Archæological Association Meetings, 178-179.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society Meetings, 32, 176-177, 266-7.
Cambridgeshire, Charities of Over, 166-169.
Canal Boats in 1792, 93.
Cannes, Discoveries in Cave near, 38.
Canon's Ashby, 77.
Canterbury, Skull and Bones found at, 131.
— Cathedral, Architecture, 210.
Caradoc Field Club Meetings, 33, 223.
Cards, Playing, 37, 231.
"Carlisle," Traditional Origin of Word, 104.
Carlyle's (T.) House at Ecclefechan, 36.
Carmelite Monastery, Remains of, Found at Chester, 37.
Carthusian Order of Monks, illustrated by the Priory of Mount Grace, 1-6.
Castle Cary, Curfew Bells rung at, 229.
Castle Martin Church, 224.
Charles II., Amusements of, 226.
Chess Game, Exchequer, 38-39, 134-135.
Chester, Discovery of Roman Temple at Whitefriars, 37.
Chew Magna Church, Monuments in, 34, 230-231, 279.
Chipping Camden Church, Restoration of, 228.
Chouy, Discoveries at, 227.
Church Bells, Essex, 128-129.
Church Customs at Sarna, 130-131.
Church Plate (Norfolk), 221; Discovered at Shoreditch, 87.
Church Stretton, Gold Coin found at, 38.
Civil War. See "Tower Guards."
Clan Theory extant in Cornwall, 263.
Clarendon Historical Society Publications, Reviewed, 29.
Clark (G. T.), *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, Reviewed, 28-29.
Clifford, Lady Anne, 49-54.
Clifton Antiquarian Club Meetings, 33, 86, 222, 230, 279.
Clinch (G.) on Discovery of Roman Antiquities at Keston, Kent, 108, 109.
"Clog Almanack," 268.
Coffee-houses, London, in 1669, 62.
Coffin, Stone, found at Alnwick Abbey, 180; at Pontefract, 37.
Coins of Bonaparte, 182; belonging to Shropshire Archæological Society, 269; Venetian, 14-19, 267; Sale of Scottish, 85; Discoveries of, Edward III. 38, Elizabeth 132, Trajan 227; at Chouy 227, at Richmond Castle, Yorks, 84, (Saxon) at Rome 36, in Scotland 32.
Colchester, Coin of Trajan found at, 227.
Cookery, 196-202; Roman, 243-246; Anglo-Norman, 247-249; an 18th Century Dinner described, 273; Utensils, 197.
Copyright, temp. 1614, Parliamentary Bill concerning, 26.

- Corea, Archaeology and Superstitions in, 35-36.
 Cornwall, Customs extant in, 263-264.
 Corporation Officers at Appleby, 49.
 Correspondence, 38-39, 85-87, 134-135, 182-183, 230-231, 277-279.
 Covent Garden in 1730, 179.
 Coventry, Lammes Riding at, 226.
 Cox (J.) on Double Plurals, 87.
 Critic, Dr. Johnson considered as, 237.
 Crosses at Ilkley, 175-176.
 Croydon, Parish Church, Monuments in, 272.
 Cumberland and Westmoreland Archaeological Society Meetings, 128.
 Customs, Old, extant in Cornwall, 263-264.
 Deerhurst Church, 222; Font at, 32.
 Deer's Antlers discovered at Ipswich, 268.
 Devil's Dyke, Cambridgeshire, 177.
 Dinner, 18th Century, described in "Venetia," 273.
 Diseases, Stones as Cures for, 31-32.
 Dorfold Hall, Nantwich, Account of, 270.
 Drayton, Discoveries at Phoenix Bank, 276.
 Dress of the Carthusian Monks, 4.
 Drinking Vessel called "Black Jack," 183.
 Dublin, Swift's Birthplace in, 161-163.
 Dumfries Old Bridge, 80-81.
 Dumfriesshire Natural History and Antiquarian Society Meeting, 80, 125-126.
 Dunstable, Ancient Pall at, 276.
 Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Society Meetings, 177.
 Durham Brasses, 39; Church, Griffin Relic formerly in, 90-91.
 Durham House, Adelphi, 8-11, 231.
 Dutch Church, Austin Friars, Registers of, 182.
 Earlstoun, Restoration at Cowdenknowes, 182.
 Easter Monday at Greenwich Fair, 58.
 Easter Sepulchre at Patrington Church, 273.
 Ecclefechan, Carlyle's House at, 36.
 Edgote Church, Northamptonshire, 77.
 Edinburgh Architectural Association Meetings, 79.
 Edward II. Hunting, *temp.*, 165.
 Edward III., Gold Coin of, found, 38.
 Effigy of Countess of Cumberland in Appleby Church, 52.
 Elizabeth (O.), Silver Coins of, discovered, 132; Old Workhouse, *temp.*, 83.
 Elk, Irish, Skeleton of, discovered in Tipperary, 276.
 England, Forest Laws and Forest Animals in, 21-24, 163-166, 255-258.
 English, Early, Coins, 269.
 — (Old) *menu* 14th century, 247-248.
 — Palate, Formation of, 196-202, 243-250.
 Entrenchments found on the Yorkshire Wolds, 180.
 Epidaurus, Temple of Æsculapius at, 259-263.
 Erith and Belvedere Natural History Society Meetings, 222-267.
 Essayist, Dr. Johnson considered as, 236-237.
 Essex and Suffolk Antiquities, Note on, 38, 86, 135.
 Essex Archaeological Society Meetings, 128-129.
 Essex Field Club Meetings, 174-175, 272.
 Essex Notebook and Suffolk Gleaner, Reviewed, 220.
 Exchange, Antiquary, 40, 88, 136, 184, 232, 280.
 Exchequer Chess-game, 134-135.
 Fairs, Greenwich, 58-62.
 Fairy Rings, 223.
 "Fayrey Pall," Ancient Relic known as, at Dunstable, 276.
 Fayum Papyri, 181.
 Fens of Cambridgeshire, 168.
 Ferguson (R. S.) on the Formation of the English Palate, 196-202, 243-250; on 18th Century Dinner, 273.
 Field Names and Toponymical Collections, 6-8, 85, 267.
 Fireplace, Curious Old, in Aylesbury Manor House, 131.
 Folk-lore of Lanarkshire, 102-108.
 Font in Barrington Church, 223.
 Food of the Carthusian Monks in England, 4.
 Forest Groves, Sacredness of among the Ancients, 94.
 Forest Laws and Forest Animals in England, 21-24, 163-166, 255-258.
 Fortune-telling, *temp.* James II., 36.
 Foster (J. J.) on Birthplace of John Russell, 69; on Roman Portraiture in the British Museum, 250-255.
 Fountains Collection, Oron Ware in, 71.
 Foxhunting in England, 256.
 France, Sale of Old Inn in Normandy, 37.
 French Coins of Bonaparte, 182.
 Fresco discovered at St. Michael's, Thursley, 229; at St. Peter's Church, Sudbury, 180; at Sheriffhales Church, 84; painted by Giovanni Battista Alberta, restored, 132; in Painted Chamber, Westminster, 46.
 Fruits used in Early Cookery, 201.
 Gainford Church, Durham, 177.
 Gallic Graves discovered at Chouy, 227.
 Game Laws, 21.
 Geldart (Rev. E. M.) Folk-lore of Modern Greece, Reviewed, 74.
 Genealogy of Morgan, Llantarnam Abbey, Monmouthshire, Reviewed, 123.
 Genealogy of Nathaniel Hone, 183.
 Gibbs (R.), *History of Aylesbury*, Reviewed, 266.
 Gibraltar, Old Anchors and Guns found at, 84.
 Glasgow Archaeological Society Transactions, Reviewed, 29.
 Glasgow Architectural Association Meetings, 223.
 Glass-making in England, *temp.* 1584, 25.
 Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, Reviewed, 29-30.
 Gomme (G. L.), *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, Vol. III.; Review, 266.
 Goodrich Court, 180.
 Gothic Art, Ancient, Numerical Principles of, 147-153, 209-214.
 Gray (H.), *Descriptive Catalogue of Rare, Curious, and Valuable Books*, Reviews, 266.
 Greeks, Ancient, Fondness for Antiquities by, 179.
 Greenwich Fair, Account of, 58-62.
 Greetwell Fields, Roman Remains found at, 228.
 Griffin (The), 89-92.
 Grotto discovered at Port Barra, 180.
 — of Roc du Buffens, Discoveries in, 38.
 Hadrian, Bust of, in British Museum, 253.
 Hakluyt (R.), *Principal Navigations and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Reprint, ed. by E. Goldsmid, Review, 265.
 Hales (Prof. J. W.), *Notes and Essays on Shakespeare*, Reviewed, 171-172.
 Hall (A.) on Silchester v. Calleva, 183.
 — (H.) on Exchequer Chess-game, 134.
 Ham House, Restoration of, 276.
 Hamelin (Piper of), Commemoration Festival of, 84.
 Hanley and the House of Lechmere, Reviewed, 123.
 Hazlitt (W. Carew) in America in 1737-87, 113-119, 137-143.
 Hazlitt (W. Carew) on the Coins of Venice, 14-15; on a Lesson from Plutarch, 83; on the Hazlitts in America, 113-119, 137-143; on French Coin of Bonaparte 182; on Macaulay's New Zealander Forestalled, 226; on Property at Kingston-on-Thames, A.D. 1342-5, 277.
 Hazlitt (W. C.), *Offspring of Thought in Solitude*, Reviewed, 172.
 Healing, Æsculapius God of, 259-263.
 Hellenic Society Meetings, 31, 76.
 Henry I., Forest Laws, *temp.*, 22.
 — II., Code of Forest Laws, *temp.*, 22.
 — V., a Borrower of Books, 226.
 — VI., Accounts of, *temp.*, 1422-1442, 191-196.
 — VII., Bedding of, 187.
 Heraldic Bearings, the Griffin, 89-92.
 Herbs used in Early Cookery, 201.
 Hereford, Old City Moat found at, 277.
 Herford (J. S. A.) on Old Words used in Miracle Plays, 135.
 Hindolveston Church, 221.
 Historical Society (Royal) Meetings, 30.
 Historical Society (Royal) Transactions, Reviewed, 20.
 Holderness, Yorks, Lake Dwellings discovered in, 277.
 Hone (Nathaniel), Genealogy and Family of, 183, 231.
 Hone (R.) on Family of N. Hone, 183, 231.
 Hope (R. C.) on Scarborough Corporation Insignia, 20-21.
 House, History and Development of, 185-190.
 — Pre-historic, Discovered in Meath, 228.
 House of Lords, Its Place of Meeting, 41-43; the Transition from Tenure to Writ, 143-147, 239-243; Name of, 279.
 "Howbury," near Erith, 222.
 Hudd (A. E.) on Chew Magna Church, 230-231.
 Hull Corporation Documents, 228.
 — Literary Club Meetings, 272.
 Hull Quarterly, edited by W. G. B. Page, Reviewed, 123.
 Human Remains found at St. Albans, 229.
 Husbands, Ancient Mode of Obtaining, 179.
 Ilkley Church and Crosses, 175-176.
 Ingram (J. H.), *The Haunted Homes and Family Traditions of Great Britain*, Reviewed, 73.
 Inn called Sedan Chair, Bath, discoveries at, 229.
 Inn, Old, Normandy, 37.
 Inscription, found near Dewsbury, 32-33.
 Insignia of Scarborough Corporation, 20-21.
 Ipswich, St. Peter's Church at, 267; Excavations at, 268.
 Ireland, Historical and Archaeological Association of, Meetings, 173.
 Iron Bedsteads, First Use of, 83.
 — Grille Work, Wrought, 173.
 — Slag, Deposit of, at Nether Wasdale, 58.
 Jennings (H.), *Phallicism Celestial and Terrestrial*, Reviewed, 219.
 Johnson (Dr.), *Life, Works, and Table Talk*, Reviewed, 266.
 — Birthplace of, 233-239.
 Keston, Kent, Roman Antiquities discovered at, 108-109.
 Kingston-on-Thames, Property at, A.D. 1342-5, 277.
 Kneller (Sir G.), Queen Anne's Portraits by, 277-278.
 Kreuzlingen Church, Wood Sculpture in, 134.
 Lach-Szyrma (Rev. W. S.) on Notes from Cornwall, 263-264.
 Lacustrine Antiquities at Zurich, 228.
 Lake-dwellings discovered at Holderness, Yorkshire, 277.
 Lambeth Church, Pedlar Memorial Window removed, 182.

- Lambeth Church, Pedlar Legend of, 202-205.
Lammass Custom, Wales, 225.
—— Riding at Coventry, 226.
Lamp, Roman Terra Cotta, discovered, 108.
Lanarkshire Folk-lore, 102-108.
Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society Meetings, 270.
Land-holding, Parliamentary Bills concerning, 25.
Land Tenure in Lanarkshire, 103.
Language used in Official Documents, 273.
Latimer (Bishop), Birthplace of, 119-121.
Latin Inscription, Translation of a, 230.
Laws (Forest) in England, 21-24, 163-166, 255-258.
Learning of the Ancients, 179.
Leatherhead Church, 129-130.
Lee Brockhurst Church, Restoration of, 228.
Leeds Geological Association, 225.
Lee-penny Talisman, 106.
Legends of the Isle of Man, 157-161; of Mecklenburg, 64-69; of Pedlars, 202-205.
Library at the Castle of Wrexhill, 82.
Lichfield, Birthplace of Dr. Johnson, 233-234.
Lichfield Cathedral, Restoration of, 228.
Lincoln, Roman Remains discovered at, 37.
Lincolnshire, Discovery of Supposed Pre-historic Road in, 30, 38.
Liverpool in 1792, 92-94.
Livett (G. M.), *Southwell Minster*, Reviewed, 172.
Llangawladr Church, Restoration of, 83.
Llangeddeirne Church, Restoration of, 83-84.
Llanwchyllin Parish, 178.
London in 1669, 62-64.
—— Antiquities discovered, 132, 134.
—— Pleasures in 1730-35, 179.
—— Roman Mortar found in, 75.
—— Stage, *temp.* Shakespeare, 274.
—— Collection of Views of Southwark, 181.
—— Geologists' Association Meetings, 124.
—— and Middlesex Archaeological Society Meetings, 76.
Lords, House of, History of, 41-48, 143-147, 239-243, 270.
Lovat, Lord, Relics of, 181.
—— Title and Estates, Claim to, 227.
Ludlow, Old House Destroyed at, 83.
Macaulay's New Zealander Forestalled, 226.
Maccall (W.), *Christian Legends*, Reviewed, 74.
Magna Charta, Clauses in Dealing with the Forests, 22.
Maidstone Burghmote, 83.
Manchester in 1792; 92-94.
Manx Legends, 157-161.
Maplestead "Round Church," 129.
Marriage Bill, Curious, 87, 231.
Marriage Customs, 190: Lanarkshire, 106, 107; Ancient Spanish, 179.
Marshall (J.), Sale of Musical Library, 182.
Martin-hunting in England, 256-257.
Martin (St.), Site of Chapel of, discovered, Shrewsbury, 38.
Mary Queen of Scots, Room occupied by, 182; Execution of, 274.
Mastodon, Remains of, discovered, 132.
May Customs in Cornwall, 263.
Mecklenburg, Legends and Traditions of, 64-69.
Melton Constable Church, 220-221.
Menus of Roman and Old English Dinners, 246-248.
Mersea Island, Roman Antiquities at, 174.
Mexborough Vicarage, Relics found at, 229.
Mickleham Church, 130.
Middleham Castle, 180.
Midland Gwyer, Review, 266.
Midland Union of Natural History Societies, Meeting of, 77-78, 124-125.
Milton, Wiltshire, Addison's Birthplace, 27-28.
Miracles of Æsculapius, 259-263.
Miracle Plays, Old Words used in, 135.
Moat, discovered at Hereford, 279.
Monastic Churches, Early, 149-151. See Carthusian.
Monkshaven, St. Ishmael's Church at, Restored, 228.
Montgomery Castle, 78-79.
Monuments of Nevills of Raby, 215.
Morgan (G. B.) on a Latin Inscription, 230.
Mound, Opening of, in Loch of Stennes, 134.
Mount Grace Priory, Account of, 1-6.
Municipal Offices (Ancient), 82-83.
Nantwich Church, 270.
Napper (H. F.) on Site of Silchester, 86-87.
Nelson (Lord), Cane belonging to, 229.
Nether Wasdale, Deposit of Slag Iron at, 58.
Neuchâtel, Old Towers at, 182.
Nevills of Raby and their Alliances, 109-113, 153-157, 214-217.
Newcastle Field Club Meeting, 78.
—— Society of Antiquaries Meetings, 33, 80, 127-128, 177.
Nicholas (St.), Cole Abbey, Restoration of, 274.
Norber, Silurian Erratic Blocks at, 225.
Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society Meetings, 220-222.
Northamptonshire Natural History Society Meetings, 79.
Notebook, Antiquary's, 35-36, 82-83, 130-131, 179, 226-227, 273.
Numerical Principles of Ancient Gothic Art, 147-153, 209-214.
Numismatics, 269. See "Coins."
Numismatic Society Meetings, 31.
Oak, Old, at Bickington Church, 84; Screens at St. Andrew's Church, Aveton Gifford, 274.
Oak Trees, Celebrated, 94-97.
Obituary Notices, 179-180.
Offices, Forest, 24.
Official Documents, Poetical Language in, Objected to, 273.
Oiron Ware, 71-72.
Orkney, Discoveries in Loch of Stennes, 134.
Oven, Cambridgeshire, Charities of, 166-169.
Owen (Rev. T. W.), *History of St. Nicholas Church, Leicester*, Reviewed, 172.
Painted Chamber, Westminster, 46.
Paintings by Barry at Society of Arts, 101-102.
Palate, English, Formation of, 196-202, 243-250.
Parliament, first held at Shrewsbury, 269-270. See "House of Lords."
Parliament Oak, 96.
Parliamentary Bills, Notes on some Rejected, 24-26.
Patrinton Church, Yorkshire, 272.
Pausanias, Description of Temple of Æsculapius by, 260.
Pavements (Roman) discovered at Woolstone, 36, 133.
Peacock (Ed.) on the Griffin, 89-92.
Pedlar at Lambeth Church, Memorial Window removed, 182.
—— Legends of Lambeth and Swaffham, 202-205.
Penzance Natural History Society Meetings, 126-127.
Personal Rights, Origin of, 36.
Peterborough, Prehistoric Implements found at, 124.
—— Cathedral, 78.
Peter's (St.) Eve, Fires on, Cornwall, 264.
Philip the Fair of Austria, Shipwreck of, on Coast of England, 69.
Philips (Wm.), Diary of a Journey of, *temp.* 1792, 92.
Phillips (B.) on Old Playing Cards, 231.
Philological Society Meetings, 30, 75.
Pillows a Luxury, *temp.* Eliz., 185.
Place Names, 6-8, 85, 267.
Plot (Dr.), Anecdote of, 36.
Plurals (Double), 87.
Plutarch, A Lesson from, 83.
Poet, Dr. Johnson considered as a, 235-236.
"Poet's Corner," Note on Title, 183.
Polygamy, *temp.* 1675, Parliamentary Bill to Legalise, 27, 87, 231.
Pompeii, Fossil of a Man discovered, 180.
Poniawski Gems, 39, 279.
Pontefract, Discoveries at, 37.
—— Opening of Museum at, 84.
Pontypridd, Coins found at, 132.
Port Barra, Grotto discovered at, 180.
Porter (J. A.) on Church Plate discovered at Shoreditch, 87.
Porters, London, in 1669, 62.
Portraiture, Caricature, in National Portrait Gallery, 131; Roman, in the British Museum, 250-255.
Priory at Pontefract, Discoveries at, 37.
Prison at Manchester in 1792, 93.
Pulling (Alex.), *The Order of the Coif*, Reviewed, 121-123.
Raby Castle, 109-113.
Raby, Nevills of, 153-157, 214-217.
Ramsay (Sir E. J. H.) on Accounts of Henry VI., 191-196.
Records of Cambridgeshire, 166-169.
Records of the Borough of Nottingham, Vol. II., Review, 264-265.
Revenue of Henry VI., 191-196.
Reviews of New Books, 28-30, 72-75, 121-123, 169-172, 217-220, 264-266.
Richmond Castle (Yorks), Silver Coin found at, 84.
Roche Abbey, Discoveries during Explorations, 181.
Rochester, Antiquities at, 77.
Rock Sculptures at Ilkley, 176.
Roger (J. C.), *Celticism a Myth*, Reviewed, 123.
Rolfé (C.) on Numerical Principles of Ancient Gothic Art, 147-153, 209-214.
Rollright Stones, 128.
Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath, 224; at Chester, 37; at Dewsbury, 32-33; at Housesteads, 127; at Keston, 108-109; at Lincoln, 37; at London, 132, 134; Maentwrog, 178; at Rottenburg, 274; at Winchester, 182; at Woolstone, 133; Villa discovered in Greetwell Fields, 222; at Woolstone, 36; Coins, 269; Cookery, 198, 243-246, menu, *temp.* Republic, 246-8.
Roman Portraiture in British Museum, Examples of, 250-255.
Rome, Saxon Coins found at, 36.
Rottenburg, Black Forest, Excavations at, 274.
Round (J. H.) on the Tower Guards, 54-58, 135, 205-209; Note on Ancient Municipal Offices, 82-83; on Maidstone Burghmote, 83; on Essex and Suffolk Antiquities, 86; on House of Lords, 143-147, 229-231; on Meaning of the word "Wick," 230.
The Barony of Ruthven Reviewed, 73, 74.
Royston, Cave at, 34.
Russell Family, Birthplace of the Founder of, 69.
Russian Archaeological Congress Meeting 271.
Rutherglen, Customs at, 105-106.
St. Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society Meetings, 34.
St. Albans, Human Remains found at, 229.
St. Paul's Cathedral, Designs for Decoration of, 228.
St. Paul's Ecclesiastical Society Meetings, 31.
Saltpetre-making in England, *temp.* 1584, 25.

- Saltwood Castle, Restoration of, 276.
 Samos (Isle of), Tunnel discovered in, 276.
 Sarcophagus, Roman, Discovered at Lincoln, 37.
 Sarna, Curious Church Customs at, 130-131.
 Satchell (T.), *Leonard Mascall's Book of Fishing with Hooke and Line* Reviewed, 218-219.
 Sauces used by the Romans, 202.
 Saville (Wm.), *temp.* 1690, Relics of, found at Mexborough, 229.
 Sawyer (F. E.) on Field-names, 6-8.
 Saxon Antiquities discovered near the White Horse, Berkshire, 181; Coins found at Rome, 36; Cross discovered at Wooler, 230; Work discovered at Peterborough, 78.
 Scarborough Corporation Insignia, 20-21.
 Schussenried (Württemberg), Stone Age Hut found at, 133.
 "Scot" Term of, still used, 84.
 Scott (Michael), Wizard, Tradition of, 103.
 Scottish Coins, Sale of, 85.
 Seeds of Plants used in Early Cookery, 201.
 Sennen Church, 126.
 Shakspeare Society (New) Meetings, 76.
 Sheffield Village Community System at, 35.
 Shellingford Church, Berkshire, 131-133, 210.
 Sheriffhales Parish Church, Restoration of, 84.
 Shirwell, Restoration of St. Peter's Church at, 275.
 Shoreditch, Church Plate discovered at, 87.
 Shorthand, System of James Ward, 274.
 Shrewsbury, Discoveries in, 38.
 — Show Festival, 83.
 — First Parliament held at, 269-270.
 Shropshire Archaeological Society Meetings, 78-79, 269-270.
 Silchester, Site of, 86-87, 183, 277.
 Smith (H. W.) on Queen Anne's Portraits by Kneller, 277-8.
 Smith (J. H.) on Essex and Suffolk Antiquities, 38, 135.
 Spanish Armada, Tapestry Representing at Westminster, 48.
 — Marriage Custom, 179.
 Spectre Stones in Mecklenburg, 68.
 Spices used in Early Cookery, 202.
 Stackpole Warren, Prehistoric Village at, 224.
 Stage in London, *temp.* Shakespeare, 274.
 Stag-hunting in England, 164.
 Stahlschmidt (J. C. L.), *Surrey Bells and London Bell Foundries*, Reviewed, 219.
 Statutes relating to Forest Laws, 21-23.
 Staverton, Restoration of St. Mary's Church at, 276.
 Stephens (Prof. G.) on the Brough Stone, 135.
 —, *Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*, Reviewed, 72-73.
 Steps discovered at Drayton, 276.
 Stone Age Hut discovered, 133.
 — Implements, India, 132.
 — Monuments in Bunbury Churchyard, 271.
 Stones, Cup-marked, in Perthshire, 31.
 Strand, Account of, 11, 13.
 Stratford-on-Avon, Custom of Swan-upping at, 228.
 Stuart (Esme) on Manx Legends, 157-161.
 Sudbury, St. Peter's Church, Restoration of, 180.
 Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History Society, 267-268.
 Superstitions from the Corea, 35-36; of Mecklenburg, 64-69; Nuptial, 190.
 Surrey Archaeological Society Meetings, 129.
 Sussex Field-names, 6-7; Place-names, 85.
 Swaffham, Pedlar Legend of, 202-205.
 Swaffham-two-Churches, 176.
 Swan-upping Custom at Stratford-on-Avon, 228.
 Swift (Jonathan), Birthplace of, 161-163.
 Swimming an Amusement of Charles II., 226.
 Tankard (Silver) formerly belonging to John Bunyan, 275.
 Tara (Meath), Discovery of Prehistoric House at, 228.
 Taxation, *temp.* Henry VI., 191-196.
 — of Books, 131.
 Temple discovered at Athens, 36.
 Tenure by Writ of House of Lords, Transition from, 143-147, 239-243.
 Theatres (London) in 1669, 63; *temp.* Shakespeare, 274.
 Thoresby (R.), Life of, 133.
 Thurcaston, Birthplace of Latimer, 119-121.
 Thursley, Church Restoration at, 229.
 Tipperary, Skeleton of Elk found in, 276.
 Tiryms, Excavations at, 133.
 Tokens of Shropshire, 269.
 Topographical Society, London, 132.
 Totnes, Antiquities at, 124.
 Tower Guards, 54-58, 135, 205-209.
 Traditions, Lanarkshire, 102-108.
 Trafalgar, Relics of Battle of, found, 84.
 Trajan, Bust of in British Museum, 252-253; Coin of, discovered, 227.
 Treasure, Buried, Legends of, 202-205.
 Trees, On some Ancient, 94-99.
 Tregellas (W. H.), *Cornish Worthies*, Reviewed, 265-266.
 Trent, Piers of Wooden Bridge discovered in, 274.
True Report of Certain Wonderful Overflowings of Waters in Somerset, Norfolk, A.D. 1607, ed. by E. E. Baker, Reviewed, 170-171.
 Tunnel (B.C. 900) found in Isle of Samos, 276.
 Turner (W.) on Silchester v. Cella, 277.
 Urns, Cinerary, discovered at Lincoln, 37.
 Venables, Rev. Precentor, on the Rules of the Carthusian Order, illustrated by the Priory of Mount Grace, 1-6.
 Venetian Government, Removal of, to Constantinople, *temp.* 1222, 226.
 Venice, Coins of, 14-19, 267.
 Vernaleken (J.), *In the Land of Marvels, Folk Tales from Austria and Bohemia*, Reviewed, 74.
 Village Community at Thetford, 35.
 Vine at Hampton Court, 99.
 Wake (C. S.) on the Nevills of Raby and their Alliances, 109-113, 153-157, 214-217.
 Walford (C.) on Greenwich Fair, 58-62.
 Wallace (Sir W.), Traditions of, 103.
 Wallasey, Sale of "The Old Cheshire Inn" at, 275.
 Ward (James), Volume belonging to, 274.
 Wardour Castle, 77.
 Ware, Bed of, 189.
 Warwickshire Naturalists' and Archaeologists' Field Club Meetings, 79.
 Water Supply, London, *temp.* 1635, 9, 11.
 Watts (J. King) on Charities of Over, Cambridgeshire, 166-169.
 Welsh Customs, 225.
 Westminster, Abbey North Door Restored, 181.
 — Hall, Restorations at, 82.
 — House of Parliament at, 41-48.
 Wheatley (H. B.) on the Adelphi and its Site, 8-14, 99-102; on the Place of Meeting of the House of Lords, 41-48; on History of the House, 185-190; on Durham House, 231; on Birthplace of Dr. Johnson, 233-234; on Poniatowski Gems, 279.
 Whittingham Churchyard, Berwickshire, 174.
 Whooping-cough, Cures for, 32.
 Wick, Meaning of the Word, 230.
 Williamson (G. C.), *Royal Coinage and Token Currency of Guildford*, Reviewed, 218.
 Winchester Mayoralty Festival, 85.
 — Roman Antiquities discovered, 182.
 Wood, Cultivation of, *temp.* 1237, 168.
 Wood Sculpture in Kreuzlingen Church, Restoration of, 134.
 Wooler, Saxon Cross discovered at, 230.
 Woolstone, Berkshire, Roman Villa discovered at, 36, 138.
 Words (Old) used in Miracle Plays, 135.
 Wrexhill Castle Library, 82.
 Wroth (Warwick) on the Miracles of Æsculapius, 259-263.
 Year Book of the Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, Reviewed, 123.
 Yeatman (Pym), *Observations upon the Law of Ancient Demesne*, Review, 266.
 Yew-trees, Celebrated, 97-98.
 York Field Naturalists' Society Meetings, 271-272.
 York, Restoration of All Saints Church at, 181.
 Yorkshire, Priory of Mount Grace in, 1-6.
 — Archaeological and Topographical Society Meetings, 175-176.
 — and Lincolnshire Architectural Society's Meeting, 79-80.
 — Wolds, Entrenchments found, 180.
 Young (Miss J.) on Mecklenburg Legends and Traditions, 64-69.
 Zürich, Lacustrine Antiquities at, 228.

